

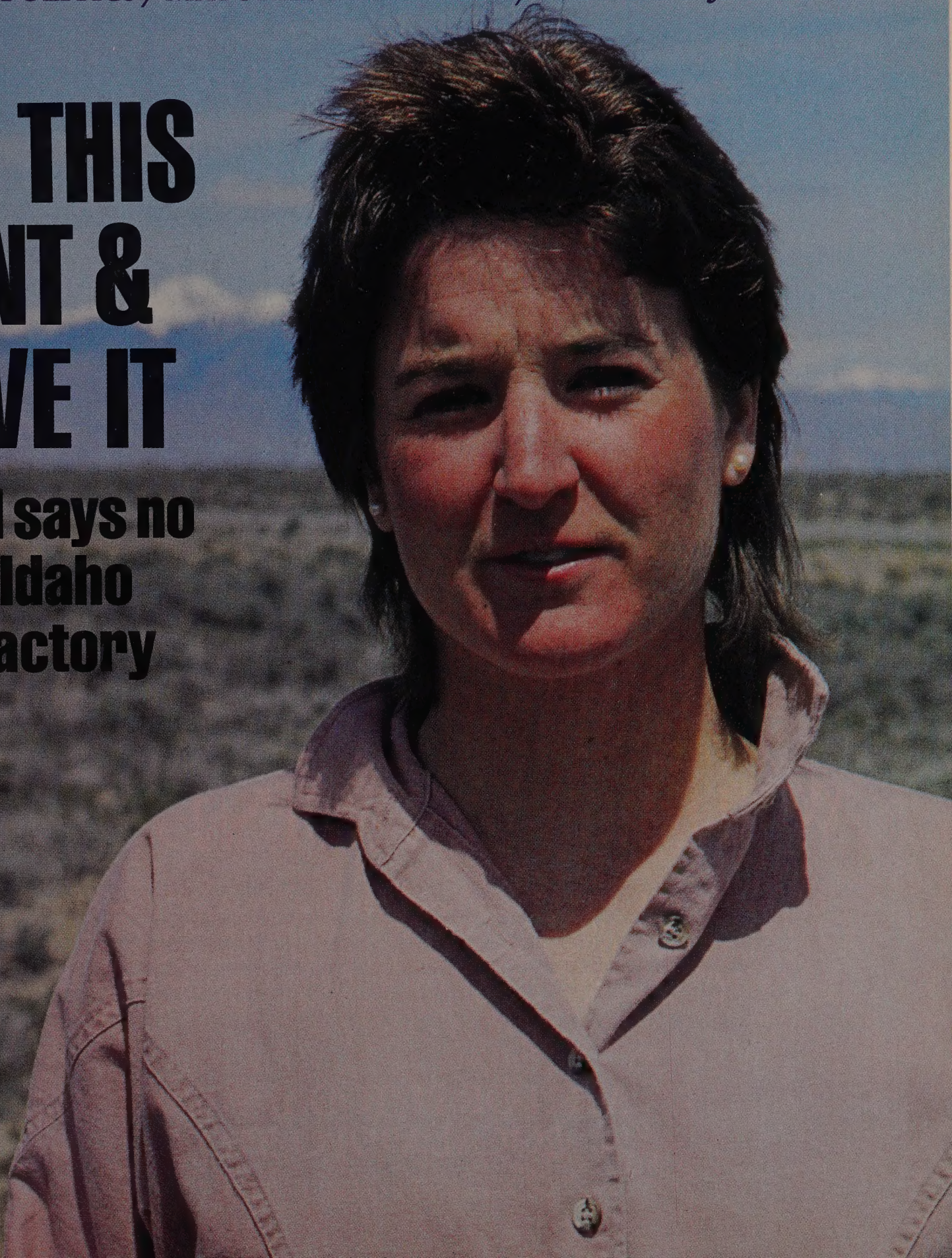
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JULY/AUGUST 1988



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By Scott Ridley

Although the United States is "awash in plutonium," the Department of Energy wants to build a new reactor to reprocess the deadly waste in Idaho. Some state residents, led by the Snake River Gorge, think it's a bad idea.

Smalltown Diplomat

By Robert Schaeffer

A liberal in a conservative town, Irvine Mayor Jerry Agran makes his own style of foreign policy. And he wants other local elected officials to do the same.

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Cover photo of Liz Paul by © Andrew Kent 1988.

LETTERS

CD on Trial

In "Acts of Conscience" [Jan./Feb. 1988], Mel Friedman states: "When the protesters have been allowed to discuss their motives, judges have invariably instructed their juries to disregard such testimony."

But this is not always true. In 1984 a group of protesters conducted a sit-in at Sen. Robert Stafford's (R-Vt.) office in Winooski, Vermont. They demanded that he not support military aid to Central America and that he convene a public meeting on the subject. When they were asked to leave the office, and did not, they were arrested for unlawful trespass.

At their trial later that year, the group invoked the "necessity" defense. The judge allowed virtually all the testimony they sought to present, including their contention that what they were endeavoring to prevent, namely more U.S.-aided killings in Central America, was a greater evil than the inconvenience they caused the senator. In his charge to the jury, the judge permitted consideration of such testimony. The jury acquitted all the defendants on all counts. And Stafford changed his position on military aid to Central America.

An edited transcript of the trial is available in a paperback book entitled *Por Amor Al Pueblo: Not Guilty*. It makes for fascinating reading.

Anne M. Orton, Legislative Chair
Greenwich Village Coalition
Against Nuclear Arms
New York, New York

In Defense of Defense

Contrary to Robert Schaeffer's review of my book *Defending Europe Without Nuclear Weapons* ["Devil's Advocates," May/June 1988], I never suggested that "the uncertainty of victory" is the thing that "deters the Soviets from attacking." Rather I argue that the present military uncertainty is a de facto deterrent, whether or not the Soviets have any desire to attack. Indeed, I believe the Soviets have no intention to attack and said so in the section on "Soviet Intentions," which he did not cite. Nevertheless, as long as the Soviets maintain large, tank-centered forces in Europe,

the West must calculate what is an adequate military balance to keep Soviet leaders from abandoning their normal caution in the event of a crisis.

Looking to the future, I wrote that "the present balance of forces in Europe is a sound foundation on which to build, in stages, a more stable and commodious security system for Europe. The centerpiece of such a system would be non-provocative conventional forces." Apparently Schaeffer thinks this leads to no "significant policy departure." I would be glad if Congress and the Department of Defense agreed that non-provocative defense was now NATO policy.

The four specific defense improvements I offer are consistent with non-provocative defense. Schaeffer takes special exception to fortifications, which he deems "absurd." Yet fortifications are central to the proposals of most West German alternative defense researchers and cannot rationally be considered more politically malignant than the nuclear weapons whose firings fortifications would help insure against.

Finally, I do not understand why Schaeffer did not mention the entire section of the book on arms reductions, where I strongly urge NATO to take up recent (and very constructive) Soviet overtures to reduce and restructure conventional forces so as to eliminate the capacity for surprise attack.

George Perkovich
Royal Oak, Maryland

A Prize for Vanunu?

Henry Kissinger has suggested that we try to imagine the kind of society we would like to see 100 years from now and work backwards from there. If that sounds like a logical approach, then perhaps the U.S. disarmament movement should look to our counterparts in New Zealand for leadership. Certainly the New Zealanders have recognized their responsibility in this regard, and to a growing extent the subject is becoming a matter of debate in the world's largest nuclear-free nation.

For example, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND-Aotearoa, the Maori name for New Zealand) has criticized

Prime Minister David Lange for his refusal to speak out on U.S. pressure to release Bealeau's (formerly Palau) nuclear-free constitution. And except for the Worldwide Nuclear Freeze, CND has been virtually alone in expressing its concern over the Mordechai Vanunu case in Israel.

The Vanunu case combines elements that should be of interest to all disarmament organizations: the proliferation of nuclear weapons, introduction of nuclear weapons into an unstable area of the world, and the fate of a brave internationalist "whistle blower" who risked all to expose the existence of a "secret" nuclear arsenal. British and Australian MP's, CND Aotearoa and the Worldwide Nuclear Freeze have called on the Israeli government to release Mr. Vanunu and are currently campaigning for a Nobel Peace Prize for him [see page 8 in this issue].

Richard Blake, Coordinator
Worldwide Nuclear Freeze
Fairplay, Colorado

Left Out

How did it come to pass that the otherwise useful and informative article by Miranda Spencer ("To Russia With Love," March/April 1988) managed to mention every organization promoting American-Soviet friendship and sending tours to the Soviet Union this year except for the affiliated societies of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Information can be obtained from the national office, 85 East 4th St., New York, NY 10003.

David Adams, President
Connecticut Association
American-Soviet Friendship
Woodmont, Connecticut

20/20 Hindsight

Thanks for the great article on 20/20 Vision [May/June 1988]. We have grown even larger since you wrote about us. There are now 20/20 Vision projects in 18 congressional districts in 11 states, including California, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon and Pennsylvania.

If any of your readers are interested in starting a project in their district, they should contact Lois Barber, 20/20 Vision, 55 Pleasant St., Amherst, MA 01002, (417) 253-2939.

Jeremy Sherman, Co-director
20/20 Vision
Albany, California

More from Europe

Berger Dragsdahl's article ["Lessons from Abroad," March/April 1988] presents an impressive review of European views on alternative security but contains a yawning gap and one serious problem in analysis. Any understanding of the developments in Europe must include a review of trends in Southern Europe, where alternative security policies have developed differently and where, in Spain and Greece, they have become government policy, as the nations seek to disengage from NATO's military structure.

In my experience, it is wrong to divide Northern European peace groups into weapons-oriented and political. Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which Dragsdahl puts in the former category, has, like the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV), spent considerable ef-

fort developing "détente from below" through work with official and unofficial groups in East Germany and the Soviet Union—while never losing sight of the threat posed by weapons. CND's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, far from being bomb-obsessed and without political perspective, has always been put forth as the basis for a new foreign policy.

What distinguishes CND, as well as Greenpeace, Quakers and other groups, is its total rejection of nuclear deterrence. Other groups see deterrence as too-tough-to-tackle or, in some cases, good policy. This distinction is perhaps a more useful one for Americans engaged in similar debates.

Dan Plesch, Director
British American Security
Information Council
London and Washington, D.C.

U.N. Reformers

David Lewis' article ["Looking For Results," May/June 1988] rightfully acknowledged the concerns and efforts of the peace movement PACs regarding the 1988 congressional elections and their potential impact on arms control policy.

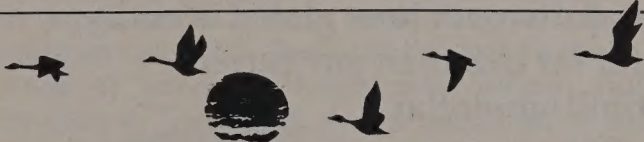
However, Lewis failed to mention the

work being done by the Campaign for U.N. Reform. The campaign, founded in 1975, is a bipartisan national organization that advances goals and a vision of how the U.N. can be revitalized and made more effective. One of these goals is the establishment of an International Disarmament Organization as part of the U.N. system. Thus our interest in arms control is keen.

In the November 1986 election we endorsed globally minded candidates who support U.N. reform and arms control issues. We assisted these candidates with contributions, tailor-made press releases and special listings in our "global statesmanship" ratings. These ratings were mailed throughout the nation before the elections as a guide to voters who wished to support globally minded candidates.

We are a small PAC, but well-organized and effective: all 27 incumbent House members endorsed by the campaign won re-election in November. Moreover, the four challengers we endorsed upset incumbent members of Congress, three of whom scored only 8 percent in our ratings and the other zero. This November we hope to do even better.

Richard Corson
Campaign for U.N. Reform
Washington, D.C.



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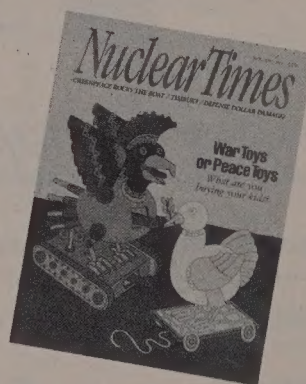
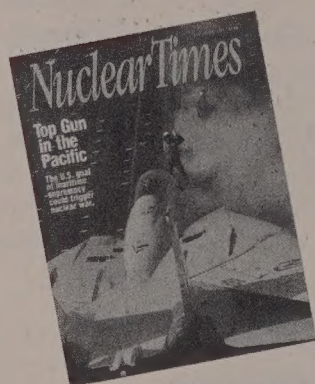
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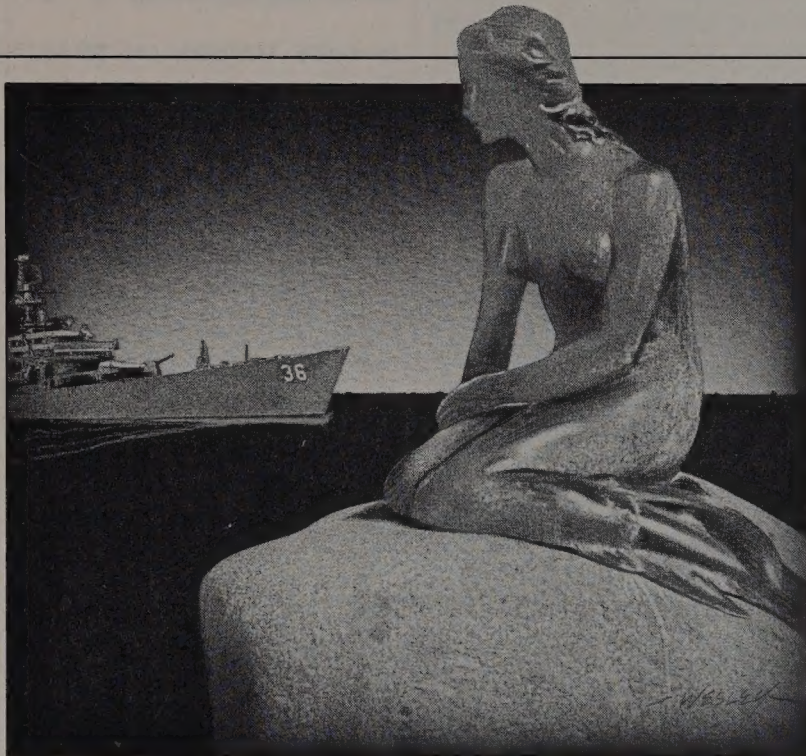
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DISPATCHES

NATO ALLIES DENMARK

NEW ZEALAND, DENMARK recently found that intrusive foreign pressure can come from allies as well as enemies. When the Danish Parliament passed a resolution requesting visiting warships to respect the country's 30-year-old prohibition of nuclear weapons, Denmark's NATO allies decided it rescind the policy. When it did not, NATO forced Danes to hold an election to reconstitute its govern-

On April 14, the Danish Parliament approved a resolution asking for the government to permit visiting warships that Denmark prohibits nuclear weapons in Danish territory. It was an attempt to reiterate longstanding government policy against even the brief presence of nuclear weapons on Danish territory, including of its territorial waters." The government had long asserted that foreign warships respected this policy. But the presence of U.S. nuclear-capable ships in Danish ports in the more recent U.S. nuclear buildup, and New Zealand's decision to ban nuclear ship visits gave rise to public concern that the policy was being violated. This, in turn, sparked a parliamentary debate. Despite warnings that a "New Zealand solution" would be unacceptable to the United States and NATO, the Social Democratic Party introduced legislation requiring the government to notify visiting ships that Denmark does



not permit nuclear weapons when it issues clearance letters granting them permission to dock. The legislation did not require inspection of visiting ships or require them to "confirm or deny" the presence of nuclear weapons on board.

Reaction to this modest proposal was swift and stern. U.S. Ambassador to Denmark Terence Todman warned Social Democratic Party Chairman Svend Auken: "Any change to Danish clearance letters which would include wording which challenges or undermines our 'Neither Confirm or Deny' policy would be unacceptable and would result in cancellation of U.S. ship visits to Danish ports. Such a policy could have wide-ranging and adverse implications for our defense cooperation efforts and, thereby, be detrimental to the security of the entire Western alliance."

According to sources present at the meetings between Todman and Auken, the U.S. ambassador argued that the clearance letter procedure could encourage anti-nuclear opponents in other countries to

do the same. And he told Auken that the Danish government would have to call an election to decide the matter.

Auken told Todman that U.S. threats constituted an unwarranted interference in Denmark's affairs and compared U.S. behavior with Soviet behavior towards Hungary.

The Social Democrats decided to forward the resolution to Parliament, where it was approved by a coalition of opposition and centrist parties. Prime Minister Poul Schlüter, leader of the conservative coalition that opposed the measure, then dissolved Parliament and called for a May 10 election.

Although the ruling coalition is dominated by pro-NATO conservatives, a majority of the Danish electorate is anti-nuclear. In 1987, a U.S. Information Agency poll found that 82 percent of Danish voters favored a Nordic Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, and 46 percent favored joining a zone even if it meant leaving NATO.

On domestic issues, the conservative-led government coalition can obtain a majority in

Parliament. But on security issues, a parliamentary majority supports peace movement demands. During the last six years, the Parliament has passed resolutions opposing the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, the U.S.-sponsored Strategic Defense Initiative and new U.S. chemical weapons. And it has passed measures supporting a test ban and removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe. Of the 28 pro-peace resolutions passed by Parliament, the government supported only six.

The campaign preceding the May 10 election was heated. Foreign newspapers condemned Denmark's action, NATO statesmen complained that NATO defense planning would be disrupted, and government parties campaigned to make the election a for-or-against-NATO referendum.

The anti-nuclear parties tried to highlight economic issues. They downplayed the nuclear issue because they did not want to aggravate NATO-Danish relations, which would need mending if they won.

Election results were mixed. The ruling coalition retained a slim, one-vote majority. The multi-party opposition supporting the anti-nuclear resolution lost some votes to a right-wing party, but retained a slim parliamentary majority on this issue. As a result, it has been difficult for either to form a new government.

NATO's response to a relatively modest anti-nuclear policy antagonized many Danish voters. And the fact that the U.S. ambassador could force an election and threaten a quiet, peace-minded ally was a sobering experience for many Danes.

—Joergen Dragsdahl

BLIPS . . .

IT AIN'T OVER 'TIL IT'S OVER In late April, the Supreme Court of Palau threw out the results of a referendum held last August in which Palauns voted to eliminate their constitution's ban on nuclear weapons [see "Palau Ends Atom-Arms Ban," Jan./Feb. 1988]. Responding to a lawsuit filed by 165 plaintiffs, the court declared the vote unconstitutional on procedural grounds. The United States, which still has trusteeship over the Micronesian island group, wants military land-use rights for 50 years in return for \$428 million in economic aid, but the Palaun Constitution stands in the way. For more information, contact **The Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy**, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 334-8044.

PUTTING VICE INTO VICE PRESIDENT *In These Times* reports that earlier this year **George Bush** told an audience of Republican supporters in Twin Falls, Idaho, just how chummy he is with the president: "For seven-and-a-half years I have worked alongside him, and I'm proud to be his partner. We have had triumphs. We have made mistakes. We have had sex." A moment of stunned silence followed. Bush then corrected himself, saying, "We have had setbacks."

WHO'S YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY? In mid-March, the Senate voted 53 to 41 against a proposal by **Sen. Howard Metzenbaum** (D-Ohio) to make private contractors at least partially liable for accidents caused by negligence at U.S. nuclear weapons plants. "Unless we hold the contractors responsible," said Metzenbaum, "there is absolutely no incentive for them to operate these facilities as safely as possible." The proposal's opponents argued that saddling contractors with liability would frighten expert and reliable companies away. Most of the Department of Energy's plants are operated by private companies, whose contracts total an estimated \$100 billion.

GRASSROOTS PEACE AWARD The **Peace Development Fund**, of Amherst, Massachusetts, and the **Pacific Peace Fund**, of Seattle, awarded the first annual \$10,000 "Grassroots Peace Award" to **Citizen Alert**. Citizen Alert, a Reno, Nevada-based group of about 1,000 members, has been organizing against the Department of Energy and the Pentagon since 1975. One of the group's major successes came in 1981 when it led the campaign that defeated a \$5 billion Air Force plan to deploy MX missiles across Nevada's Great Basin. The group's newest project, Skyguard, monitors low-flying military aircraft abuses.

STATE SAYS NO TO CITY DIPLOMATS In the winter issue of the conservative *Washington Quarterly*, **Peter Spiro**, a State Department spokesman, condemned "local interference" in foreign policy [see feature on Larry Agran on page 22]. He is particularly displeased with local efforts to divest from firms doing business in South Africa, and suggests that the federal government "launch a legal campaign against local foreign policies." For the complete text of Spiro's article and a rebuttal from **Michael Shuman**, president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, request the Spring 1988 issue of the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* from CID, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714, (714) 250-1296.

VANUNU STIRS U.S. DEBATE

IN LATE MARCH, AN ISRAELI district court sentenced **Mordechai Vanunu**—the man who gave Israeli nuclear weapons secrets to a London newspaper—to 18 years in prison for treason and espionage.

Avigdor Feldman, Vanunu's lawyer, believes there is a good chance the Israeli Supreme Court will reduce Vanunu's sentence on appeal. In the meantime, the affair has ignited a debate over nuclear proliferation in the Middle East.

The incident that triggered the chain of events leading to the trial took place almost two years ago. Relying on information Vanunu smuggled out of Israel, the October 5, 1986 *Sunday Times* of London reported that Israel had produced between 100 and 200 nuclear weapons over the past 20 years, making it the world's sixth-largest nuclear power. Vanunu, a 33-year-old Moroccan-born Israeli, had worked as a technician for nearly 10 years at the Dimona nuclear power installation in the Negev Desert.

The official Israeli response was swift. The next day, Prime Minister **Shimon Peres** declared that "Israel's policy has not changed and Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the region."

But the unofficial Israeli response came even more quickly: Vanunu disappeared from London just before the article appeared. According to news reports, an Israeli agent lured him to Rome. He was then abducted and sent back to Israel on a cargo ship.

The Israeli government at first denied knowledge of Vanunu's whereabouts, but weeks later officials admitted that he was in custody.

In a letter written in prison before the trial and published

in *Al Fajr*, an Arab newspaper in Israel, Vanunu told readers: "My belief is that in order to act against the nuclear danger we must, in the first stage, become aware of its existence and be conscious of the danger. . . . I took the first step against the nuclear danger."

Vanunu's younger brother, **Meir**, is trying to take the next step. He has been crisscrossing the globe, meeting with peace activists and Jewish groups to build support for his brother. In November 1987 he held a conference and a workshop at the inaugural SANE/FRN convention in Cleveland. A month later he was in Stockholm, where he accepted his brother the Right Livelihood Award—the so-called alternative Nobel Peace Prize.

Some U.S. supporters of Vanunu liken the technical act to **Daniel Ellsberg's** publishing the Pentagon papers. Ellsberg, who deplores the fact that Israel has the bomb, is uncomfortable with the comparison. "I have very mixed feelings about this situation. I don't know what **Mordechai Vanunu's** motives were, but they were probably idealistic," he said. "The effect of his act has brought Israel's nuclear capacity out into the open and he has magnified the issue and made it more possible for Arab neighbors will feel challenged and threatened."

Noam Chomsky, who has frequently on U.S. foreign policy, dismissed Ellsberg's contention, maintaining the fact and the rest of the world already knew Israel had the bomb. Calling Vanunu's act "important, courageous and honest," the well-known M.I.T. linguist also denounced the way the Israeli government has treated him: "Here is a man who was kidnapped and is to stand trial before a kangaroo court. It's ludicrous."

Support from American peace groups and activists has been lukewarm at best, however. **Meir** blames the

am Israeli news media's hostility toward his brother. The press "came down against Mordechai," said, "stating that he was un- le and making him out to be the worst traitor in Israel's history."

consequently, many American Jews view Mordechai's action with skepticism, said Deena Hurwitz, of the Jewish Agenda, a left-wing U.S.-based group. "They never think he's loony or has poor judgment."

Although New Jewish Agenda supports the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, Hurwitz said that many American Jews, including many members of her organization, believe that Israel's nuclear weapons program should not be viewed in the same way as that of other countries, such as India, Pakistan or South Africa.

"There is a whole strain of nuclear doves," she explained. "There are many people who believe that in order to give the occupied territories back to the Arabs, Israel must have nuclear weapons."

Hillel Schenker, senior editor of *New Outlook* and a spokesman for the Israeli Committee for the Prevention of Nuclear Arms, said that the psychology behind a "nuclear dove" position has made it difficult to draw Israelis into the anti-nuclear movement. "The average Israeli is not worried about Israel's nuclear capacity, but rather reassured by it," he said.

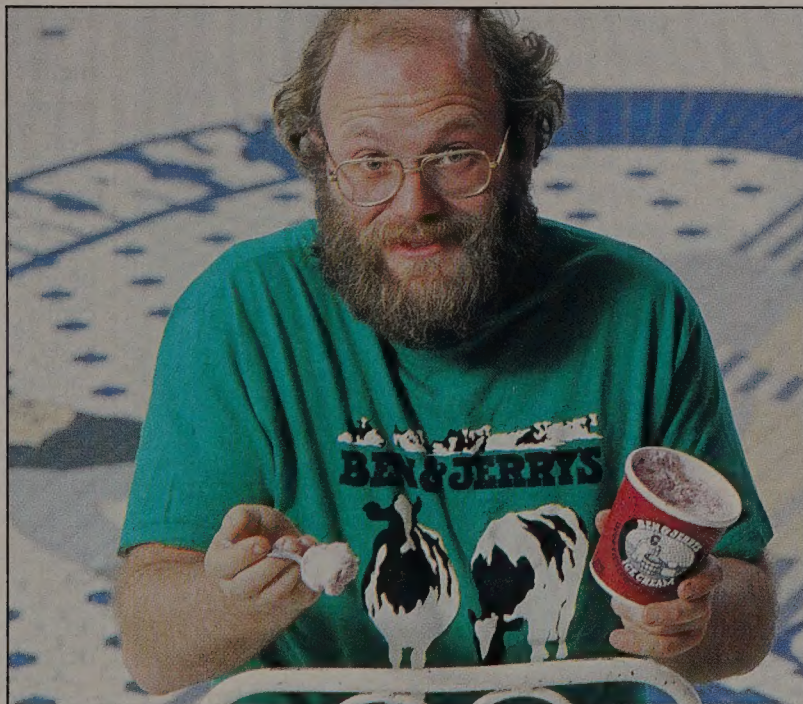
And observers say that Israel's siege mentality insulates it from any criticism from American Jews. "We are limited in what we can do in influencing Israel," said Joel Brooks, executive director of the Northern California chapter of the American Jewish Congress. "Israelis are not American Jews, 'It's not our kids who would suffer, it's theirs. So if you have any criticisms, why don't you come here and live—or stay out of it.'"

—Lauri Udesky

ICE CREAM COHEN FOR 1 PERCENT

MY MACROBIOTIC FRIENDS claim if everyone followed their diet, there would be no

project came from Philip Snyder, director of the Center for Religion, Ethics and Social Policy (CRESP) at Cornell University, in 1982. Snyder sent the proposal to Cohen, his long-time friend, and since then the ice cream baron has been networking with peace organizations and progressive busi-



Ben Cohen: Eating ice cream and promoting peace at the same time.

war. But a daily regimen of brown rice and tofu? No way. I'm no warmonger, but I won't give up my ice cream.

Now, thanks to Ben Cohen, co-founder of Ben & Jerry's ice cream company, we'll soon be able to eat ice cream and promote peace at the same time. Cohen is the main force behind 1 Percent for Peace, a new campaign to persuade Congress that 1 percent of the military budget—about \$3 billion—should be allocated for projects that foster greater understanding between nations.

A key fundraising component of the project is Ben & Jerry's soon-to-be-available "Peace Pop," a chocolate-covered ice cream bar on a stick. The bar's wrapper will feature messages on military spending and disarmament, and an as-yet-undetermined percentage of Peace Pop profits will help fund the campaign.

The original proposal for the

nesses and investment firms to build a base for the campaign.

A 36-year-old self-styled hippie, Cohen does not share the typical businessman's view of the role of corporations. In fact, one of his primary goals is to "redistribute wealth." To that end, his company in 1985 created the Ben & Jerry's Foundation, which doles out 7.5 percent of the Vermont-based company's pretax profits to nonprofit, social-action groups.

That turns out to be quite a bit of change: The company grossed about \$30 million last year. In a 10-year period, Cohen and partner Jerry Greenfield went from owners of one Burlington, Vermont, ice cream shop to president and "executive-at-large," respectively, of the number-three manufacturer of superpremium ice cream.

Cohen wants to put his profits to good use, and what better cause than peace? "We need to strengthen the peace movement

and business connection," he says. "The business community can lend legitimacy and provide the marketing tools for communication. And we need an agenda that is pro-active, not just anti-war."

Other like-minded business people are backing the idea. Thus far, Double Rainbow Ice Cream; Natural Nectar, a maker of ice cream and health food products; Stoneyfield Yogurt; and Smith and Hawken, a garden tools manufacturer, have agreed to include the 1 Percent for Peace logo and a "ballot" on their packaging. They will urge consumers to sign these ballots, which support the 1 percent concept, and send them to Congress.

Ben & Jerry's ballot is somewhat different. Instead of filling out a coupon on the ice cream package, Peace Pop eaters will send in the stick, which, after it's licked clean, displays an endorsement for the campaign.

If Congress responds and allocates the funding, the 1 Percent for Peace project advocates the establishment of U.S.-Soviet citizen exchange programs, including tours and joint projects on problems such as reforestation, environmental clean-up and world hunger.

Not content to wait for Congress to take action, Cohen is already forging ahead on his own. He is now negotiating with the Soviets to open up ice cream shops in Moscow. If the deal goes through, he plans to use profits from the shops to fund exchange programs for U.S. and Soviet high school students.

But wait a minute. Ben & Jerry's ice cream in Moscow? Muscovites might get used to ice cream flavors called Cherry Garcia, Chunky Monkey, or Dastardly Mash—but will they go for one called White Russian?

—Elise Holland

For more information, contact CRESP, Anabel Taylor Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, (607) 256-6486.

PASSING UP JESSE

DID THE PEACE MOVEMENT MAKE A MISTAKE
BY STAYING OFF THE JACKSON BANDWAGON?



Jesse Jackson on the campaign trail: Why didn't the peace movement reach out to him?

It made Kathy Flewellen's blood boil. In Iowa, before the February caucuses, she says that invariably some peace activist would walk up to her and ask, "Of the Democratic candidates who can win, who do you support?"

Jesse Jackson's purported unelectability, contends Flewellen, associate director of the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) Washington office, was a convenient excuse for peace activists to shun his campaign. Yet it was Jackson who received top marks in SANE/FREEZE's 1988 candidate survey, Jackson who was the only Democratic hopeful to show up at the 1988 SANE/FREEZE convention, and Jackson whose top campaign aides include such long-time peace activists as Jack O'Dell (from the board of SANE/FREEZE) and Frank Clemente (former legislative director of Jobs with Peace).

"If you picked up the SANE/FREEZE candidate profiles, there would only be one peace candidate," insists Flewellen, referring to Jackson. "And yet the question, 'Is there a peace candidate?' can be asked and there's no answer. If a peace candidate walked up and smacked the peace movement in the face, it wouldn't know it!"

As the primary season progressed from

Iowa, the Jackson campaign snowballed. In rapid succession came Super Tuesday wins in the South and a surprise upset victory in Michigan. Suddenly political pundits were taking Jackson seriously as a contender for the Democratic nomination. Even after his campaign faltered around the New York primary in April, Jackson had become a solid player in the Democratic Party.

While many grassroots peace activists were excited about Jackson, at the national level, ambivalence was thick in the air. "There was no monolithic peace movement position on the Democratic candidates," says Council for a Livable World Executive Director John Isaacs, echoing a sentiment shared by many national leaders of peace groups, from Freeze Voter to Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament. For Jackson, this meant no endorsements and little support or interest from the national groups, according to Frank Clemente, Jackson's issues coordinator.

Why the peace movement's hesitation? National leaders point to two factors: an unusually progressive crop of Democratic contenders (especially on arms control) and a pragmatic desire to see one of these Democrats elected president in 1988.

Jackson partisans argue, on the other

hand, that issues of race and class drove a wedge between the peace movement and the campaign.

The Debate. Historically, the peace movement's choice for president hasn't been the people's choice. Henry Wallace could not beat Truman in 1948, "Clean Gene" McCarthy never made it out of the infamy of the '68 convention in Chicago, and George McGovern's devastating loss in 1972 still haunts the Democratic Party. More recently, the peace politics of Alan Cranston, Gary Hart and Paul Simon have failed to capture overwhelming public support.

This record has concerned those in the peace movement who prefer electoral results to moral victories. The Democratic Party has been closer to the White House than at any time in the last eight years, and few in the peace movement are willing to blow the opportunity to share in the glory and power a Democratic victory would bring.

Says Chip Reynolds, executive director of Freeze Voter: "We have to move people into the factory of politics. They should be running the machinery."

But if George Bush becomes the manager of the factory, the peace movement is unlikely ever to get near the machinery. And Jackson as the Democratic nominee, the argument goes, would lead to a Republican victory: four more years of the Reagan agenda sans Reagan.

Faced with a slate of arms control progressives, some peace activists have concluded it wise not to quibble about the Democratic candidates. "The difference between Gore and Jackson is inconsequential when compared to the gap between Democrats and Republicans," says Reynolds. "For that reason, Freeze Voter not advocated one Democratic candidate over another."

Robert Borosage, Jackson's foreign policy adviser and former director of the Institute for Policy Studies, has a more cynical outlook. He calls proponents of this "potential officeholders who want to get their resumes clean."

But even in the grassroots, where potential political appointees are few, the dilemma has divided peace activists, producing some interesting ironies.

Jesse Stratton, a member of the SANE/FREEZE

ZE board of directors, says she was "frightened" that Jackson was running, since he had framed the debate the way it had to be framed." Even so, Stratton supported Jackson, convinced that he had a better chance of winning and "not convinced that Jackson would make a better president." Herb Rothschild, executive director of the New Jersey SANE/FREEZE and a self-declared Jackson supporter, nonetheless criticized SANE/FREEZE's decision not to give an official endorsement. The differences, he says, between the Democratic candidates "weren't striking enough to justify organizational risks."

Paul Slentz, coordinator of Nashvillians for Nuclear Arms Freeze, says "most people would say that Jesse Jackson is a very strong candidate and very strong on peace and justice issues." Yet Slentz ran as a Gore supporter. Why support the candidate who stood out against the rest of the Democratic pack for being too soft on arms control? Slentz says he wanted to preserve a good relationship between the Tennessee peace community and its senator.

Class and Race? Jackson supporters and political observers argue that these currently pragmatic arguments obscure real ideological differences that steered many peace people away from Jackson. Andrew Kopkind, who covered the 1988 election for *The Nation*, describes the usual peace activist as "99.9 percent white, middle-class and intellectual." For this kind of person, he says, "the class and race politics of Jackson is immersed in are foreign, his concerns are suspect."

Patricia Byrd, of the D.C. Nuclear Weapons Freeze advisory board, argues that peace activists who refused to back Jackson "are unconscious racists." But, he adds, "the culture we live in is indeed racist. And how

ESSE VS. DUKE

with: oppose Midgetman missiles, support INF, moratoriums on missile tests and nuclear weapons tests.

Jackson supports: a five-year freeze for defense budget, the cancellation of health bomber and SDI programs, cutting back Navy carrier task group from 17 to 13, the removal of 60,000 to 100,000 U.S. troops from Europe.

Dukakis supports: reduction of SDI research and development, increased conventional weapons expenditures, continued development of Trident II missiles, scrapping of two new Navy supercarriers. —J.F.

much did that culture affect our leaders and prevent them from conceptualizing Jackson as a viable candidate?"

Reynolds bristles at "the implication that is sometimes made that if you're a peace activist and you're not for Jackson, you're a racist . . . I have not found people going to work for Dukakis because they thought a black man can't win."

Jackson's Dilemma. If peace activists have had to decide whether to look back at historic concerns or forward toward electoral office, Jackson has faced the same dilemma himself. He resolved it by being in effect two politicians: Jackson the Democratic candidate and Jackson the leader of a peace and justice movement. As Todd Gitlin, author of *The Sixties*, points out, "Jackson had to play 'movement' and 'party' at the same time," delivering votes to the Democratic Party and securing party concessions for the movement. If the strategy worked, Jackson's movement of grassroots supporters would be strengthened and Jackson would become president.

Jackson partisans accuse the peace movement of being content to watch that balancing act, happy to reap the potential benefits either in the electoral or grassroots arena, but reluctant to stick its neck out to ensure Jackson's success. Clemente insists that Jackson brought peace issues across race and class lines to constituencies the peace movement has traditionally been unable to reach. "The peace movement ought to rejoice in that," he says. "And I don't have any sense from national peace leaders that they appreciate it or that they see it as particularly relevant."

Meanwhile, taking peace and justice issues into the mainstream debate, according to Borosage, meant Jackson the candidate took heat from conservative Republicans and Democrats alike. By failing to come to Jackson's defense, says Borosage, the peace movement "demonstrated once again it can't defend progressive candidates."

But few would argue that unqualified support from the peace movement would have carried Jackson to the White House. Some believe, instead, that the greatest loss was to the peace movement itself.

"The campaign was a golden opportunity to bring together organically the anti-intervention and social justice movements with the disarmament movement for a common goal, galvanized around a common agenda," says Michael Simmons, national coordinator of East-West relations for AFSC. "An opportunity like this may not present itself for many years." □

John Feffer is a 1988 Scoville Fellow in residence at Nuclear Times.

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IDEAS THAT WORKED

A BRITISH ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT KEPT THE EMPIRE FROM ENTERING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR ON THE WRONG SIDE

The American peace movement has a lot to sort out in 1988. Tactically, the movement must respond to the U.S.-Soviet INF Treaty with fresh initiatives for disarmament. Strategically, it must define its attitude toward deterrence, its relation to anti-intervention work, and its involvement in international social justice and human rights issues.

At this juncture, it may be helpful to look at some lessons of peace activism in the past. While history does not repeat itself exactly, it does tell us the ingredients that, in other eras, have produced effective popular movements against militarism.

Such a movement arose in 1861 during the American Civil War, when popular forces in England blocked the alliance of the British Empire with the southern Confederacy. The occasion, known as the Trent Affair, offers two suggestive parallels with present American foreign policy conflicts: the organizational development of pro-peace forces; and the task of asserting democratic rights in the face of imperial militarism.

The Trent Affair occurred at the apex of the British Empire. England was the most powerful nation on earth, the epicenter of industry, commerce and global diplomacy. The British ruled the seas, at a time when supremacy was enforced through naval rather than nuclear power. Control of the seas meant control of world markets.

The 1850s had been a particularly heady decade for consolidating global rule, featuring the Crimean War against Russia for control of the Balkans, the second Opium War in China, the bloody suppression of the Indian Mutiny and the formal colonization of India.

Along with military and economic power, the empire required ideological cement binding the British masses to overseas priorities and armed service when needed. The press proved a vital tool. The London papers regularly and zealously promoted the virtues of patriotism, militarism and the white man's "burden"—in the name of *Pax Britannica*. They were no less avid in portraying the dread menace of the Jacobins, the radical republican faction of the French Revolution whose spirit haunted the rulers of Europe.



Union sailors seize Confederate envoys on the *Trent* and force a confrontation with Britain

In fact, the government needed an anti-democratic and xenophobic press. For, as Britain set out to become the world's workshop and policeman, its rulers faced increasing discontent from below. Militant democratic demands had been growing alongside empire, inspired by the American and French revolutions and propelled by the mass immiseration of the Industrial Revolution.

In 1861, two democratic forces of opposition were particularly contentious. One, the Abolition movement, which had provided a moral voice in English politics from the mid-1750s, was concerned not only with the English slave trade but with emancipation worldwide. Drawn largely from middle-class Quakers and Unitarians, the Abolition movement also opposed the extension of empire through militarism.

The second democratic force was the fledgling labor movement. By the late 1850s, a range of craft associations, mutual-aid societies, trade councils and early industrial unions had been established. The most advanced of these organizations actively promoted political reform, working-class solidarity and mass action. They drew directly upon the legacy of Chartism, the militant workers' movement that had bat-

tled for universal manhood suffrage and industrial reform in the 1830s and 1840s.

The British ruling class—an expensive partnership of landed aristocrats, merchant princes and rising industrialists—had no policy of its own. They planned to control volatile unrest at home while maintaining tyrannical rule abroad through the controlled exercise of parliamentary democracy. In the ruling vision, Parliament would promote free debate among classes while using both repression and reform to assert firm control over the masses.

But Britain's rulers faced a major paradox. Democracy and empire are not easily reconciled within one political system. The attempt is fraught with unintended consequences, particularly when the common rabble takes its democratic entitlement seriously or refuses to go to war.

In April 1861, the American Civil War began. Whig Prime Minister Lord Palmerston decided that British imperial interplay with the Confederacy, with cheap cotton, with booming British textiles, and ultimately with U.S. slavery—not with competition from the rising industrialists of the northern United States.

Palmerston was particularly incensed by the Union blockade of Confederate

, which threatened British industry skyrocketing cotton prices, rising living costs, high unemployment and heightened social unrest.

Palmerston stood ready to intervene against the blockade, which meant certain war with the Union. He had laid the legal groundwork for intervention by portraying the Civil War as a war between two sovereign nations: the United States of America and the Confederate States of America. He had vast executive powers, high regard with the press and command over the government, accrued through the imperial adventures of the 1850s.

Yet one barrier to immediate action remained: widespread public sympathy for the Union. Palmerston still needed to demonstrate moral outrage over Confederate slavery and undermine working class admiration for America's democratic institutions. He needed an incident to inflame patriotic sentiment against the North and create an opportunity to commit British forces.

The incident came in October 1861, when a British mail steamer, the *Trent*, picked up two Confederate envoys in Nassau on their way to England. Union ships stopped the *Trent* and seized the envoys. Lord Palmerston declared the capture of the envoys an assault on British sovereignty and called out his press hounds to whip up public fever. He sent 12,000 troops to Canada, prepared for intervention and pressed the government to fortify its position in Mexico.

But the seeds of popular jingoism, earlier sown and frequently harvested, would not lie low in the soil Palmerston now tilled.

British workers refused to support the Confederacy, despite the war cries of the press and despite the deep hardship they suffered from the Union blockade. By the autumn of 1861, thousands of people in the cotton and textile industries were out of work and near starvation. Yet when Palmerston's agents called meetings in working class districts to promote British retaliation against the *Trent*, the masses failed to appear. Workers did show up for massive meetings and demonstrations against British intervention. From St. James Hall in London to Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle and Dublin, to countless mill towns in between, veteran Abolitionists and Chartists denounced the Southern slavocracy and Palmerston's designs for war, and workers passed resolutions favoring emancipation and the Union cause.

Of course, the ranks were not perfectly united. A few labor leaders saw only the loss of jobs. Others found it hard to forgive those Abolitionists who supported the Union while opposing universal suffrage in England. But, as historian Royden Harri-

son comments: "The existence of a small group of Southern sympathizers within the Labour movement... enhances, rather than diminishes, the achievement. Little-known figures like the weaver's president in Clitheroe, who steadfastly supported Lincoln while he received three shillings a week in relief, and John Donald and the sturdy handloom weavers of New Milns, deserve to be remembered."

This unpredicted groundswell of support for the Union and the silent refusal of many more workers to join in the call to arms proved decisive. Popular resistance checked Palmerston's hand and the occasion for British intervention passed. Soon after, news arrived that Lincoln had released the envoys.

Agitation on behalf of the Union and emancipation continued to mount through 1862 and 1863, insuring that no further occasion for intervention would arise. Palmerston had to content himself with neutrality and the maneuverings of European allies on behalf of the slavocracy.

It can be argued that the Trent Affair was a minor historical footnote. Nonetheless, the fate of the Union was highly precarious in the autumn of 1861; many Northern leaders tolerated secession and the Union Army was suffering one debacle after the next. British intervention—opening a Canadian front or breaking the Union blockade—might well have changed or prolonged the course of the war.

Setting might-have-beens aside, the real interest of the Trent incident lies in what it tells us today about building a peace movement capable of standing for democracy over empire, capable of withstanding a call to arms. The grassroots opposition to Palmerston's interventionism accomplished at least five things:

- During the Trent Affair, British workers distinguished their own conception of national interests from the government's definition. This had not been the case in earlier interventions, from India to the Crimea. But the prior work of the Abolitionists, American as well as English, had established a public opposition to slavery that severely eroded Palmerston's moral appeal.

In addition, workers in this period became increasingly aware of their class interests. They identified the fight against chattel slavery in the United States with their own fight against wage slavery. Their fundamental understanding of social progress for the nation was not the greater glory of *Pax Britannica*, but a shorter work day, lower food prices, the enactment of child labor laws and the right to vote.

- The capacity of British workers to define their collective self-interest promoted a

new kind of internationalism. British workers had begun to discover that the world was not only divided vertically between Britain and its rivals or dependencies. The world was also divided horizontally according to property and power, which Palmerston's support for the slavocracy exposed. The kinship of labor aroused in the Trent Affair signified a new trend of labor solidarity across Europe.

- As British workers gained greater autonomy, organizationally and ideologically, they grew less susceptible to the rabid baiting of Jacobin ideals and its successor "contagion," socialism. Their capacity to resist scare tactics and the chauvinist appeals of empire went hand in hand with their capacity to develop independent political identities and agendas.

- Perhaps the most strategic breakthrough of the Trent Affair was that intellectual dissidents from the Abolition movement became more closely joined with the oppositional working-class movement. Abolitionists could not count on Parliament to block Palmerston, they could only count on people who did not share Palmerston's stake in the Confederacy.

Politically, this new alliance for the first time acknowledged the linkage between emancipation abroad and democratic entitlements at home.

- The Trent Affair demonstrated the interplay of direct action and mobilization with organizational development.

Labor's origins as a social action movement, lacking supportive institutions and access to government power, heightened its reliance on public outreach, agitation and solidarity—methods that proved as necessary in the political arena as well as in the economic arena.

The Trent Affair drew upon and added to this activist tradition. And while such mobilizations were episodic, the impact was cumulative. In fact, industrial strife and democratic pressure finished off the Whig Party by 1865 and prompted the extension of suffrage to urban and rural working class males through the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884. Succeeding Tory and Liberal governments were forced to concede that democracy could not be unilaterally manipulated by ruling elites.

In turn, the experience of direct action, common cause and political independence propelled organization-building forward. During the latter decades of the 19th century, trade unions in basic industry were consolidated and in 1900 the British Labour Party was formed. Not at all coincidentally, it was the Labour Party that renounced and dismantled the British Empire in 1945 and today calls for the abolition of

nuclear weapons in Britain.

Although the social forces contending within the United States today are different and possibly more complex than those at work in the Trent Affair, the familiarity of Palmerston's tactics is quite similar—from press disinformation to the “reflagging” of the Confederate envoys. Perhaps superpowers count less on new tricks than on short memories.

More fundamentally, the Trent Affair raises relevant issues for the contemporary peace movement in the following ways:

■ The creation of an alternative view of national interests, distinct from the imperial definition, remains a crucial task today. We too need to separate patriotism from jingoism, and security from supremacy.

To do this we must unravel the Cold War paradigm, recognizing that the world has been divided by haves and have-nots, by North and South, as well as by East and West. If we seek security beyond the Cold War, social and economic justice and human rights must define our national interests.

We have won a major victory over deterrence doctrine by establishing the principle that nuclear war is not winnable or survivable. We need to extend this principle so that the abolition of nuclear weapons is as

self-evident a political and moral issue as was the abolition of slavery.

■ Creating a new sense of internationalism is an important part of redefining our sense of national interest and national security. Citizen diplomacy for disarmament, anti-intervention work in Central America, and anti-apartheid work in South Africa are essential expressions that alternative policy can be created through popular action across national borders and apart from government stances—much as emancipation and decolonization became popular worldwide causes.

■ Just as Trent activists lived in the shadow of the anti-Jacobin crusade, peace activists in the United States have long lived in the shadow of McCarthyism. The effects of red-baiting and self-censorship now surface in the pervasive impulse to assert nationalist and anti-communist credentials when attacking U.S. militarism.

Our ability to move past Reagan's Cold War revival into a new era of global restructuring (*perestroika* for some) will very much depend on our ability to shed old political intimidations and to place foreign policy within the democratic process.

■ Alliances between social movements, decisive in the Trent Affair, are just as critical today. The problem now is how to link

the peace movement with those Americans who have the most pressing stake in social justice and a democratic policy program for blacks, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, displaced industrial workers, low-wage migrant workers, women heads of households, foreclosed farmers, inner-city youth, the sick and disabled and the neighborhood toxic waste dumps. We must build alliances that integrate democratic moral sentiment with democratic social opposition.

■ The Trent Affair underscores the importance of direct action as a pre-condition and catalyst to organization building. Opportunities for direct action could be revived in the post-Reagan era. In turn, we must consider the ways new levels of activism and visibility can advance the institutional maturation of the peace movement at both the grassroots and national levels.

Finally, the Trent Affair leaves us with a little inspiration: the example of a resilient and victorious struggle to build democracy within the tyranny of empire, which is always a matter of fighting for peace.

Colin Greer and Ann Bastian are members at the New World Foundation, New York. They are co-authors of *Challenging Equality: The Case for Democratic Schooling*.

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M PROJECT USES VIDEOS
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In a country where the medium is the message, it is often difficult to get a message on the medium. Access to television and the American viewing public is hard for groups that don't have money to buy time. But in Berkeley, California, a group of independent film and video producers have found a way to promote peace on television. Founded in 1983 by *Last Tango in Paris* director Ian Thiermann and Oscar-winning director Vivienne Verdon-Roe, the Educational Film and Video Project (EFVP) produces and distributes films and works with activists to get peace programs onto the airwaves.

At first, project organizers produced made-for-TV videos about the dangers of nuclear weapons. But now, with a catalogue of more than 50 programs produced by a variety of independent directors, EFVP distributes videos on disarmament, U.S.-Soviet relations, Star Wars, and the effects of war in Central America.

EFVP's strategy is simple: Assemble a collection of hard-hitting videos, offer them to libraries, schools and activists at affordable prices, and then give them advice on how to use the films.

"We want these programs to be used," says EFVP Program Director Steve Ladd, "we keep the prices low and don't place restrictions on public showing. We encourage groups to use our programs to raise money, educate and organize."

Most of the videos EFVP sells are viewed on Video Cassette Recorders (VCR) in people's homes. Ladd estimates the group has sold or loaned 10,000 copies of its films since 1983. In 1987, it sold 100,000, and Ladd hopes, with better promotion, to double that number in 1988.

Project organizers also want to get their programs aired on commercial, public and cable television channels. "Television is the main way the Reagan administration has had an impact on public opinion," Ladd says. "The peace movement needs to make better use of it."

To introduce the process to peace activists, EFVP has developed a project that teaches how to get peace programs on the air in local markets. EFVP provides a series of eight programs about the nuclear arms race called *Solution for Survival* and a \$45

kit that includes a detailed how-to manual, a subscription to *TV ACCESS*, an organizer's newsletter, the loan of broadcast-quality tapes for TV stations to copy, and a printout of all the television stations in the activist's particular area.

EFVP offers other related services, such as a \$10 guide for organizers who want to produce their own cable TV programs; a \$15 how-to guide for activists who want to get peace ads and public service announcements onto the air, which includes a sample tape of the best-available spots; and a \$12 guide for activists who want to use Verdon-Roe's *Women-For America, For the World* to raise money in house parties (the way she raised the money to make the film), including a how-to booklet, camera-ready invitations and fundraising materials.

So far, EFVP has sold about 250 TV-access packages. And Ladd says that nearly 150 groups around the country have succeeded in getting airtime on cable, PBS and a few commercial stations. EFVP's own promotion campaign has resulted in an additional 300 TV broadcasts.

Beyond these self-help projects, EFVP continues to produce a stream of high-quality programs. EFVP filmmakers recently finished the half-hour documentary *Star Wars: A Search for Security* narrated by *St. Elsewhere* doctor Ed Begley, Jr. Project co-founder Verdon-Roe is currently making a film called *It's a Joke, Isn't It?* featuring comedians satirizing the arms race. The group is also producing a film called *Teaching Critical Thinking*, which will show educators how to teach children conflict resolution skills.

Project organizers want to stay close to their original vision and get peace information out to the general public. "Video is the major tool of communication these days," Ladd says. "But a lot of grassroots groups don't know how to deal with it. We're here to help. And we're here to say: 'Hey, here's how it's done.'"

For a catalog of films and information about the how-to guides, write to: The Educational Film and Video Project, 1529 Josephine St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 849-3163 or 849-1649. □

Anders Price is an editor at Sierra.



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Hot Potato In Idaho

The federal government wants to build a new plutonium processing plant. Liz Paul and the Snake River Alliance are determined to stop it.

BY SCOTT RIDLEY

Fifty miles west of Idaho Falls, in the middle of the sagebrush-covered desert between the Big Lost River and Atomic City, yellow smoke rises from an isolated chemical plant. It is one of a series of research facilities, reactors and chemical processing plants scattered over an 890-square-mile area known as the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory (INEL). Across Route 26 in the distance sits a squat orange building, where the nation's first experimental nuclear reactor produced electricity. And further on, 51 other reactors dot the federally owned compound.

At this site the Energy Department wants to build the government's first new nuclear weapons production plant in 25 years. The billion-dollar plant, called the Special Isotope Separator (SIS), would refine plutonium—the most toxic substance known and the key radioactive ingredient for nuclear weapons. Low-grade plutonium now stockpiled at Hanford, Washington, would be shipped here for the SIS laser processes to remove impurities. The refined plutonium would then be sent on to Rocky Flats, Colorado, to be made into triggers for warheads.

The Energy Department plans to break

ground in late 1989 and have the plant up and running by 1995. The agency estimates that it will take about seven to eight years for the plant to refine the Hanford stockpile. After that, it would be either shut down or retooled for another task.

The proposal has touched off an explosive debate in this traditionally pro-nuclear state. For decades, Idahoans have greeted federal research projects with open arms, but strident opposition to SIS has rocked local meeting halls and echoed all the way to Capitol Hill.

At the end of March, the Energy Department held two days of hearings on SIS in Idaho Falls, Twin Falls and Boise. Supporters said the project is essential for national defense and will bring jobs, economic growth, and technological spinoffs to a region that has yet to share in the nation's economic recovery. Opponents argued that environmental risks outweigh the prospects for jobs. They also said construction of SIS will send a message to the Soviet Union that the United States is not serious about curtailing the arms race.

The debate further revolves around the question of whether the refined plutonium is actually necessary for continued weap-

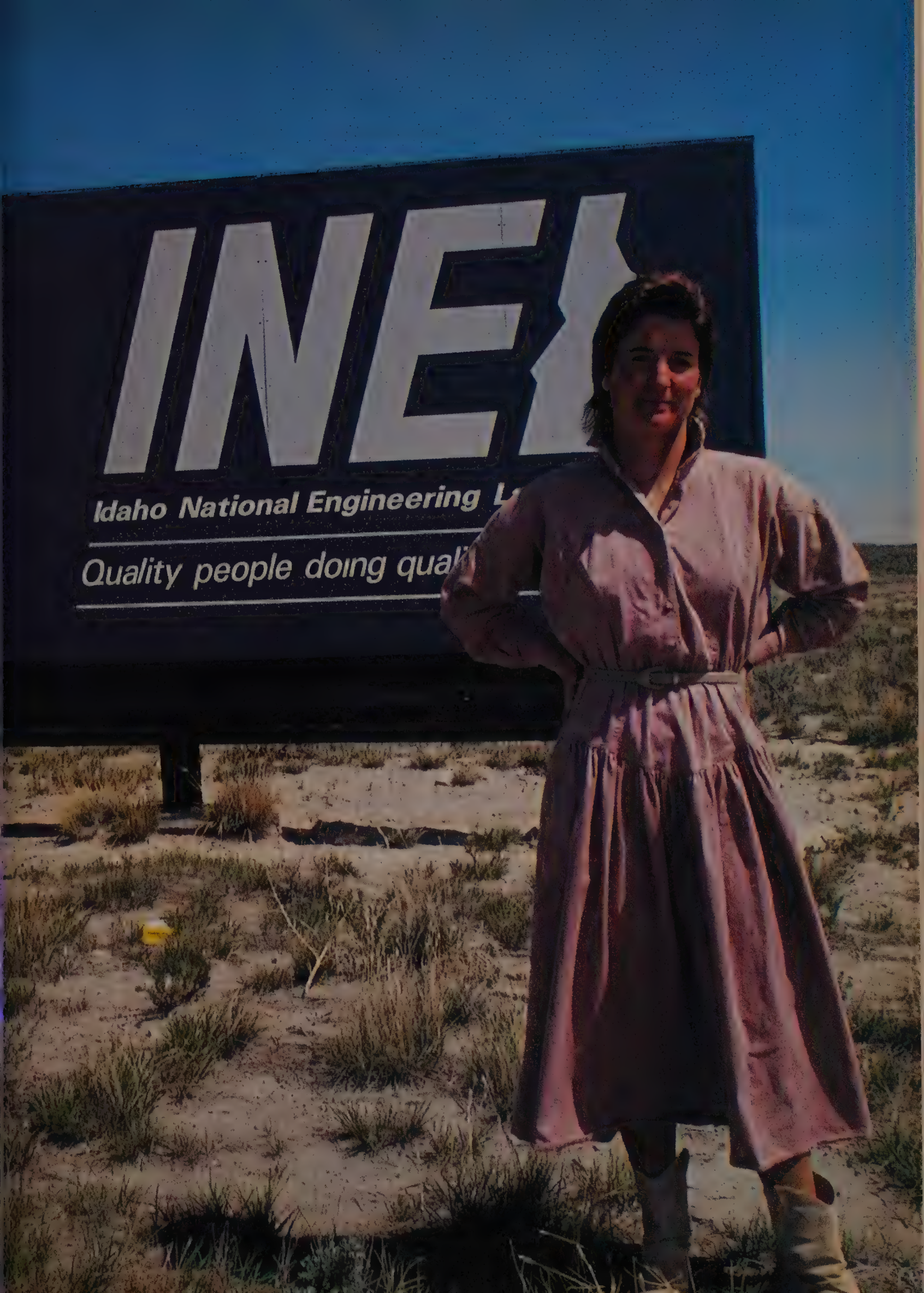
Liz Paul at the proposed SIS site: She wants Idahoans to grow potatoes, not plutonium.



INEX

Idaho National Engineering Lab

Quality people doing quality work



Bomb Factories Sow Dissent

Revelations of unsafe operations at five U.S. weapons production plants have forced the Energy Department to cut back—and in some cases shut down—production. The plants, which are 25 years old or more, are located at Hanford, Washington, and Savannah River, South Carolina.

These plants, which are among 127 weapons-related facilities nationwide, are critical to the bomb-building process. They produce plutonium and tritium—the two radioactive ingredients in warheads.

More than 20 federal studies on management and safety problems, coupled with news reports of contamination at the plants, have sparked a public outcry and placed increased pressure on the Energy Department's efforts to site new plants.

Hanford. The Energy Department originally planned to build the SIS at the trouble-prone Hanford weapons production facility in eastern Washington. However, the Hanford N reactor was shut down in January 1987 for safety modifications. Then came the Chernobyl accident and disclosures of radioactive releases and groundwater contamination at the plant. State residents—once staunchly pro-nuclear—turned 180 degrees. After a prolonged battle to re-open the reactor, it was closed permanently in February 1988.

Washingtonians are now also opposed to the Energy Department's plan to convert a partially built commercial nuclear reactor to weapons production.

"It's pretty amazing," says Tim Connor, staff researcher for the Hanford Education Action League (HEAL). "The latest opinion polls show about three-quarters of the people in the state are opposed to conversion."

Much of the credit for the change in public attitude goes to Connor and HEAL. In 1984, the organization began to publicize the fact that Hanford had been releasing major amounts of radioactivity into the air, water and soil since the 1940s, endangering the health of local residents. The Department of Energy recently estimated that it will cost \$100 billion to clean up the contamination.

Savannah River. The problems at Hanford have focused more attention on the Savannah River weapons produc-

tion facility near Aiken, South Carolina, where the government's four other key reactors are located. The story of contamination and unsafe operations at that complex is similar. The Energy Department shut down the C reactor in 1985 because of irreparable cracks, and the K, L and P reactors are reportedly susceptible to the same problem. In 1987, the Energy Department cut power at the reactors by 50 percent because of concern that the emergency cooling systems were insufficient to do the job. Later, the agency reduced power at the L reactor yet again.

Along with the plutonium and tritium it produces for warheads, the complex has generated an estimated 30 million gallons of high-level radioactive waste, stored in aging tanks on the plant grounds. In 1983, officials discovered that cancer-causing chemicals had leaked from sewer pipes and an earthen waste pond into the Tuscaloosa Aquifer, a deep underground river that provides drinking water for an area stretching from North Carolina to Alabama. Officials have also detected other radioactive releases. Soil contamination from just one incident cost \$3.7 million to clean up.

For years, the Energy Department claimed the plant was safe. The department now has a credibility problem.

"People have grown skeptical of the [agency's] claims that there is nothing wrong," says Frances Hart, director of the Energy Research Foundation, a local citizen group that monitors the plant. "That doesn't mean that people want the plant to go away. It simply means that people believe that there's a big environmental problem out there, and that's a step forward for South Carolina."

Rocky Flats. There is similar public concern at Rocky Flats, Colorado, where refined plutonium from the SIS would be sent.

Rockwell International operates the plant for the agency and employs about 6,000 people. The latest of a number of revelations of contamination here concerns radioactive soil on the plant grounds. Rockwell is expected to spend \$17 million to clean it up, and the Energy Department is expected to kick in \$20 million more. —S.R.

ons production. In February, Energy Secretary John Herrington told a House appropriations subcommittee that the nation "awash in plutonium. We have more than we need." But he has since retracted that statement and claims SIS is essential to national defense.

Despite ongoing negotiations with the Soviets for arms reductions, as well as setbacks and growing public opposition to other nuclear weapons facilities, the Energy Department is drafting a blueprint for a new generation of bomb factories. And the agency considers Idaho to be a politically safe haven for SIS as the first of its new installations. Failure to get SIS off the drawing board could put increased pressure on facilities in other states and alter the course of the department's long-term plans for building new bomb factories.

ERNIE FRANCE IS DRIVING HIS TRUCK along the backroads of the town of Jerome with dust blowing across the low grassy slopes. A cattle rancher in his mid-sixties, France has lived in Idaho all his life. He drives with his wrists balanced on the steering wheel past potato fields and cattle pastures, gesturing with his hands as he talks about his opposition to SIS.

"I'm not anti-military. I was in the Army. But I think there are better solutions than military ones. We used to talk about the 'Yellow Peril.' Now we're friends with China. There's no reason the same thing can't happen with the Russians. This SIS is a waste of money and it's an unnecessary threat to the aquifer."

France pulls over on a dirt road between high lava cliffs and the Snake River below. Springs gush from the rock-strewn base of the cliff. "The Big Lost River that sits down near the SIS site comes out here," he says. "It goes down through the lava flows about 115 miles underground, feeding the Snake River Plain Aquifer and the entire region. Protecting this isn't an environmental issue. It's an economic issue. Without this water we'd have no farming down here. Now, the contamination might not affect my generation, but it's a terrible legacy for the future."

FRANCE AND OTHER LOCAL RESIDENTS worried about the threat posed by the new plant joined the opposition as the Energy Department hearings approached at the end of March. The campaign against the new facility is spearheaded by Liz Paul, a 30-year-old swim and ski instructor from Ketchum. She works out of a packed room office in the shadow of the mountains in Sun Valley, the best known ski resort in the state. In Boise, 150 miles to

two other project staff members, Ja Berndt and Liz Merrill, help coordinate statewide efforts from an office in the basement of the local YWCA.

The campaign is sponsored by the Snake River Alliance, a loose network of 1,000 people who first banded together in 1979 to prevent INEL groundwater contamination. Aside from Paul, Berndt and Merrill, the campaign is run by volunteers.



France: SIS will threaten the aquifer.

The difficulty about doing anything in Idaho," Paul says, "is that communities are spread out." The state has a population of only 1 million people, and from Boise, Idaho Falls is a five-hour drive, Moscow is 10 hours north, and Ketchum is more than 100 hours away.

Other obstacles to organizing against the proposed plant include the fact that the federal government owns two-thirds of the state, and INEL, which currently employs 10,000 people, has been a major source of state pride since it opened in 1949. In addition to producing in 1951 the first electricity from an atomic reactor, INEL has produced radioactive materials for bombs as well as produced reactors for aircraft carriers and ballistic-missile submarines.

Opposition to SIS has generated the first significant debate over the INEL operations. The opening round took place two years ago in August. After the Energy Department temporarily shelved a new production reactor proposed for INEL for budgetary reasons, Energy Secretary John Scruggs announced that the Idaho complex was the preferred site for SIS.

Liz Paul and the Snake River Alliance responded by organizing an anti-SIS letter-writing campaign, gathering signatures on petitions and lobbying for state hearings. Gov. John Evans also called for hear-

ings to allow public comment on issues to be covered in the Energy Department's environmental impact statement.

In late February 1987, 140 people came to the first hearing in Idaho Falls. More than 200 showed up at a second hearing in Boise. Paul brought in experts from the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and other national organizations as well as activists from Hanford, Washington; Rocky Flats, Colorado; and Savannah River, South Carolina. Their criticism of SIS made headlines across the state.

"What this first set of hearings showed was that there was organized and credible opposition and they weren't going to be able to sneak it by," Paul says. Following the news coverage of the hearings and newspaper editorials against the project, SIS supporters were forced to organize to match Paul's success.

The Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry, an organization of 300 major businesses and the state's movers and shakers, endorsed the project in March 1987. The state Chamber of Commerce also supported the project, as did the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). But their work was largely invisible. "We felt that we were battling a phantom," Paul says. "There was no one who would debate us publicly on SIS."

When the Snake River Alliance began to run television ads featuring actress Mariel Hemingway, a native and resident of Sun Valley, saying that Idaho has made a "grim and immoral" bargain by embracing nuclear weapons in return for jobs, the opposition suddenly emerged. IBEW picketed Paul's informational meetings. And a business group called "Yes, Yes SIS" formed and began running its own television ads.

IDAHO FALLS IS ONE OF THE LARGEST towns sitting on the Snake River as it arcs across the southern end of the state. The quiet, predominantly Mormon community has a population of 40,000. It's a company town. Many of the 10,000 people who work at INEL live there and ride express buses to the plants 25 miles into the desert. Placemats in local restaurants proudly display INEL achievements.

Lane Allgood sits in his electronics store among the one- and two-story buildings in the town's 12-block business district. Allgood, a 36-year-old businessman, coordinates Yes, Yes SIS.

Most of Allgood's business and that of a number of eastern Idaho contractors is with Energy Department projects at INEL. "We're supporting the project because we need the jobs," he says. "The Department of Energy has been cutting back on its en-

ergy and other research projects and we need to keep things going." Citing Energy Department figures, he estimates there will be 750 jobs at the plant and some 2,000 support jobs.

Allgood is also enthusiastic about possible spinoff potential from the laser technology that would be used for SIS. "There are a lot of applications for lasers and we have the chance to get out on the cutting



Lane Allgood: SIS will provide Idaho jobs.

edge here. We could become a 'Laser Valley' and see economic growth similar to Silicon Valley in California."

Liz Paul respects the need for jobs, but, referring to the Energy Department's own projections, says the construction jobs will dry up after five years, and the other workers at the site will be highly trained technicians likely to be brought in from out of state who will work there for only the plant's seven- or eight-year lifetime. She contends the jobs needed at the site are those that will continue INEL's long-term research mission rather than shift its focus to weapons production.

The Energy Department originally planned to build SIS at the Hanford weapons production facility in eastern Washington. Hanford, however, was shut down in January 1987 because of safety problems. Revelations about serious environmental problems at Hanford and other weapons production sites fueled the debate in Idaho. Residents in northern Idaho have been exposed to radioactive releases from Hanford. And those in the southern part of the state are well aware of groundwater contamination at Savannah River.

Although there have been no reported accidents at INEL on the same scale as Hanford or Savannah River, until 1982 carbon tetrachloride and tritium were pumped



A decade later at the Rocky Flats weapons plant: Still protesting after all these years.

No Big Chill at Rocky Flats

A white jeep rolled slowly toward the crowd of demonstrators. Uniformed guards sat on the jeep's hood, watching as two lines of protesters danced the hokey-pokey on the railroad tracks leading to the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant.

A thickly built guard wearing a dark blue windbreaker and mirrored sunglasses stepped off the jeep onto the tracks. "You are trespassing on federal property," he announced. "If you do not leave, you are subject to arrest."

"How soon do we have to leave?" asked a protester.

"Immediately."

"After 10 years," replied the protester, "you should have realized by now that *you're* the trespassers."

The Rocky Flats Truth Force was celebrating its 10-year reunion. Fifty alumni who had occupied these same tracks in April 1978 were joined by another 50 supporters for a gathering and protest action last April 23 and 24. Six of the group who refused to move from the tracks during the two-day celebration were arrested and charged with trespassing. They joined about 200 others awaiting trial in Colorado in connection with recent actions at the plant.

These tracks were the site of one of the seminal events of the disarmament movement. On April 28, 1978, 6,000 people rallied to protest weapons production at Rocky Flats in what was then the largest anti-nuclear-weapons rally held since the early 1960s.

The action came at the peak of the

movement against nuclear power, when protesters at the Seabrook power plant were making headlines. But there was little public awareness about the government's nuclear weapons programs. Most of the million-and-a-half people living within 30 miles of Rocky Flats, set in the heart of the Denver metropolitan area, were ignorant of the plant's mission: to make plutonium "triggers"—Hiroshima-sized atomic bombs that set off thermonuclear explosions—for all the warheads in the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

In the late 1970s, the "nuclear" issue was nuclear power. "I think we were the only anti-nuclear weapons group," said Judi Danielson, a rally organizer.

The 1978 action included a symbolic occupation of the railroad tracks used to transport radioactive waste out of the plant. Constrained by agreements about civil disobedience with national groups and by other commitments, the organizers had informed Rocky Flats officials that the occupation would last no more than one night. About 200 people stayed on the tracks overnight. But 35 of them felt that the protest had to be more than symbolic, and they began what would be an eight-month occupation—through a cold winter—blocking trains that came and went.

Following the Truth Force's November 1978 trial, the *Rocky Mountain News* said, "Whatever you think of these protesters and what they did, one truth is clear: Rocky Flats must go." Ten years later, however, the plant is still open for business. —Jeremiah Kaplan

into the Snake River Plain Aquifer, according to Energy Department and state officials. The Energy Department also stores plutonium and other radioactive wastes on the site, and it has admitted to dumping an unspecified amount of radioactive material on the INEL grounds from the early 1960s through 1970. Gov. Cecil Andrus has directed the state Division of the Environment to help the Energy Department survey the waste at the site and begin containment and cleanup work. Energy Department experts claim that no contaminants have migrated off-site. But SIS opponents say that the plutonium refining process will require more high-level radioactive wastes to be stored at the site and will introduce much more dangerous operations at INEL.

THE FEAR OF ENVIRONMENTAL disaster and the fear of lost jobs met head-on at the hearings in Idaho Falls, Twin Falls and Boise at the end of March. Thousands of people attended and 508 testified, many waiting into the wee hours for their turn at a microphone. In a display of support, Gov. Andrus, Democratic Rep. Richard Stallings and Mayor Tom Campbell sat in the front row at the Idaho Falls hearings wearing Yes, Yes SIS stickers on their lapels.

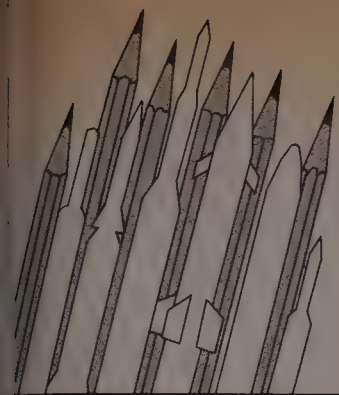
One of those who testified against SIS was Theodore Taylor, a former atomic bomb designer at Los Alamos. He charged that the Energy Department had presented "no credible conditions under which plutonium from the SIS would be needed for national security reasons."

According to Energy Department officials, however, SIS would provide "redundancy" and technological diversity to quickly pump up plutonium production in the future. They say the need for the plant is based on the annual Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Memorandum, a classified document. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) has criticized the memorandum, saying it "never comes close to reality."

Troy Wade, assistant secretary for defense programs, admits the project is necessary to meet current plutonium needs but maintains it is essential to ensure nuclear weapons material into the next century. "Neither our opponents nor [we] can accurately predict the nuclear materials requirements a decade from now," he says.

Weapons experts who testified at the hearings noted that the signing of arms reduction treaties would make significantly more plutonium available for recycling in new weapons if they are needed. The average warhead carries an estimated 3.6 kilograms (8 pounds) of plutonium. One metric ton can arm 275 warheads. According

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DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War,
Peace, and the News Media**

JULY/AUGUST 1988

VOLUME III, NO. 4

Reporting the Nuclear News In an Era of U.S.-Soviet Accord

By Robert Karl Manoff

Now that the ink is dry on the INF treaty and reporters' Moscow summit souvenir T-shirts have been through the wash, a different sort of celebration approaches: the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first nuclear treaty—the Limited Test Ban—signed in the Russian capital on August 5, 1963. A *New York Times* headline of the day warned readers that the agreement was NOT MILLENNIUM, but the lead story after the treaty was negotiated noted that President John F. Kennedy had described it as a "victory for mankind." In the words of the editorial page, "History was made yesterday. . . . The treaty carries with it more hope for a breakthrough toward both armament reduction and an East-West détente than any agreement since World War II."

In fact, no breakthrough was forthcoming. But the public, released from its fear of nuclear fallout by a treaty that confined all testing to underground spaces, behaved as though just such a breakthrough had in fact been achieved and promptly lost interest in the nuclear issue. A quarter of a century later, as the INF treaty comes into force, signs are already appearing that the public is prepared to behave in a similar fashion. As in the 1960s, moreover, the prospect of public inattention to the nuclear issue raises questions for journalists who cover it concerning their mandate and judgment—questions they now have no choice but to answer.

The Limited Test Ban climaxed almost a decade of intense domestic debate and an equal period of on-again-off-again negotiations with the Soviets. American public opinion had first been agitated by the appearance of radioactive fallout from a 1954 test in the Pacific, and it was brought to a fever pitch by fear of fallout from subsequent tests, conflict over Berlin, and the Cuban Missile Crisis. By 1962, the year before the test ban was signed, periodicals indexed in the *Readers' Guide* ran more than 450 articles on nuclear issues in their pages. That year, *The New York Times* printed 827 stories on arms control alone.

The arms control value of the test ban itself was nil, inasmuch as all necessary testing could easily—and in some cases, more successfully—be conducted under its terms. Moreover, as a quid pro quo for their support of the treaty, the Kennedy administration had to promise the Joint Chiefs of Staff that provisions would be made for the immediate resumption of atmospheric testing and that an aggressive testing program would be pursued

underground. In fact, instead of the progress anticipated by the *Times*, the number of American nuclear tests in the decade following the treaty actually increased. Worldwide, between 1963 and 1970 the average annual number of tests nearly doubled over what it had been before the treaty. During this same posttreaty period, moreover, while the McNamara-era Pentagon was also introducing strategic and doctrinal innovations, the number of U.S. ICBMs more than doubled (to 1,054) and the number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles almost tripled (to 656). Soviet deployments increased even more rapidly: their ICBM force grew from perhaps 100 missiles to some 1,300, while their SLBM force, which did not exist in the early 1960s, numbered over 200 weapons by the end of the decade.

Depoliticizing the Story

Uninformed of such developments, uninterested in them, or heedless of the president's own advice to the nation that it not expect too much too soon, the press turned away from the issue. The number of nuclear stories indexed in the *Readers' Guide* fell from the pre-treaty peak of 450 in 1962 to some 400 in 1963, to about 60 in 1970. The number of articles about arms control in the *Times* had already declined by almost three-quarters by 1966. Not long after, Stewart Alsop, no ban-the-bomber, noted in *The Saturday Evening Post* that "in recent years there has been something like a conspiracy of silence about the threat of nuclear holocaust." Rob Paarlberg caught the irony of the situation in a *Foreign Policy* article early in the 1970s when he remarked that "as our vulnerability to a Soviet attack has grown, public attention to the possible danger has progressively decreased." Looking back on this period, Lawrence Freedman has remarked on the consequences of this fact: as he put it in *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, plus the favorable outcome of the Cuban Missile Crisis, "led to the temporary removal of the nuclear issue from domestic politics in the West."

This time around, as John H. Cushman, Jr. reported in the *Times* last January 29, the Joint Chiefs "are not demanding compensation in the form of new weapons as a condition for endorsing the new treaty." Following the pattern established during the test ban ratification process, the JCS had publicly linked their endorsement of SALT I to administration support for new nuclear systems, including the Trident submarine-launched ballistic missile and the B-1 bomber, while endorsement of SALT II had been obtained in return for administration commitment to the MX.

The consensus-building process on the INF treaty has entailed no such public bidding, but there will still



be much to cover even so. Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., the current chair of the Joint Chiefs, told a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the treaty that, when it comes to the weapons acquisition process, "We cannot afford business as usual." And, in fact, modernization or deployment programs for nuclear forces in Europe already contemplate the replacement of Lance battlefield missiles, deployment of the new short-range tactical air-to-surface missile, expanded acquisition of nuclear-tipped and enhanced-radiation artillery shells, and reallocation of FB-111 long-range bombers to the tactical inventory. Meanwhile, NATO's Nuclear Planning Group has reportedly been considering compensatory nuclear deployments to adjust for the treaty. Even a START agreement would leave the nuclear story very much intact, since it would reduce the numbers of strategic warheads to levels no lower than those that prevailed about a decade ago.

As Pentagon, congressional, and NATO planners continue to contemplate their nuclear requirements in a post-INF world, the American people themselves will be making a judgment of an entirely different order: despite their staggering ignorance of the subject (see "The Campaign Press and Nuclear Issues," page 6), members of the public will be forming inchoate but politically potent judgments about the success of the treaty implementation as it proceeds. As the first treaty governing nuclear weapons to require on-site inspections—precisely the issue over which negotiations for a comprehensive test ban foundered in 1963—the INF agreement contemplates a verification regime of exquisite

complexity and ambition. As such, it has served to establish a high standard for subsequent treaties, and, as President Reagan has said, Soviet compliance with the INF treaty is an "essential prerequisite" for the future treaties on which real arms control will depend.

The Soviet-Trust Story

The President is not alone. According to a December *Washington Post*/ABC News poll, even in the afterglow of the Washington summit, the public believed, 65 percent to 31 percent, that the Soviet Union would try to cheat on nuclear agreements. In another poll at about the same time, Market Opinion Research determined that fully 86 percent of those polled agreed with the proposition that "this treaty is a good way to find out if the Soviets can be trusted before we agree to more arms reductions." For an ignorant public that is ill-equipped to judge anything else about the relationship, whether the Soviets can be trusted is perhaps the critical question on the U.S.-Soviet agenda. Nothing is more likely to affect the answers Americans give than the way the Soviets are perceived to be honoring their obligations under the INF treaty in the years to come.

The public's interest, an important news criterion, coincides in this instance with journalistic opportunity. For INF treaty documents, if read closely, provide journalists with leads to stories that are not only newsworthy but also helpful to a public trying to make up its mind. The verification regime established by this treaty is, in fact, a thirteen-year-long running story, scripted in ad-

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JULY/AUGUST 1988

VOLUME III, NO. 4

Reporting the Nuclear News in an Era of U.S.-Soviet Accord

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1988–2001: The Treaty Makes the News

Nuclear arms control treaties, once they have entered into force, lose much of their appeal for journalists. In part because of its novel verification provisions, however, the INF treaty promises to be a good story for years to come. On this and the following two pages, the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media offers a time line of newsworthy events that will be triggered by the treaty, and indications of the kinds of stories they might suggest to reporters on many beats.

The information on the INF treaty was developed by Betty Lall, director of the Arms Control Verification Project of the Council on Economic Priorities in New York, with Eugene Chollick, based on the Council's report "INF Treaty: Verification Breakthrough." The story ideas were developed by Robert Karl Manoff, David M. Rubin, Lee Feinstein, Ronnie Dugger, and Tony Kaye, all of the Center; and by Lall, Chollick, and Leslie Gottlieb, of the Council.

June 1, 1988

Treaty Enters into Force

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev formally ratified the treaty at the Moscow summit. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. may now give notice of their intent to eliminate the medium- and shorter-range missiles, missile operating bases, and the missile support facilities that are named in the treaty.

June 11, 1988

Missile Launches for Destruction May Begin

Beginning today and until December 1, each side may destroy up to 100 intermediate-range missiles by launching them—without their original guidance systems or warheads—to existing impact areas. Ten days advance notice is required before launch. Telemetry may be used to verify destruction of the missile.

STORY IDEA-

- Will either side take advantage of the opportunity to destroy its missiles through launch? If so, what is the launch schedule? Where will the missiles be launched from? Where are the impact areas? What safety precautions will be taken?

1988

June 22, 1988

Inspection Personnel Accepted or Rejected

By today, each side must inform the other of whether it accepts or rejects the lists of up to 200 air-crew members and inspectors who will carry out the five different types of inspections of various facilities during the implementation of the treaty.

STORY IDEAS

- Profile representative members of the crews from each nation. How difficult was it to locate such individuals? What criteria were used to select them? What role did politics play? Are there significant differences in the composition of the American and Soviet teams?
- Follow members of the inspection teams during the course of the treaty implementation. How do they perform over time? How does the experience affect their views on arms control and U.S.–Soviet relations?

July 1, 1988

Conversion of Missile Bases May Begin

Beginning today, INF bases may be converted to other uses—including other military and nuclear uses not limited by the treaty. Thirty days advance notice is required. (July 1 conversions would have required notice on June 1, the day the treaty went into force.) Before a base can be considered "eliminated," all missiles, launchers, and support equipment and structures must be removed or destroyed, and all activities related to production, flight-testing, training, repair, storage, or deployment of the missiles must end.

STORY IDEAS

- Which bases will be converted to civilian uses and which will be reconstructed for new military uses—such as the possible reconfiguration of the former ground-launched cruise missile base at Comiso, Italy, for F-16 aircraft to be relocated from Torrejon Air Base in Spain?
- How is the European public likely to react to the conversion of the former INF bases to other military uses? How is NATO managing its public diplomacy?
- Describe (television can shoot) the process of base destruction. Assess the initial costs of constructing the base, the short life of the base, the costs of destruction, and projected savings in maintenance—estimated by one congressional agency at \$1 billion per year. Assess effects on the local base community. Report the process of withdrawing missiles to elimination sites—a procedure that once begun can take no longer than twenty-five days.



July 1, 1988

Baseline Inspections Begin

Beginning today, each side has the right to inspect all missile operating bases, support facilities, and elimination facilities in order to help each country verify the data submitted by the other side. These inspections must be completed within sixty days, or by August 29, 1988. Missile production facilities are excluded.

STORY IDEAS

- Now that inspectors will have access to missile facilities, how do the inspections create opportunities for intelligence gathering? What information does each side assume the other will be gathering during this privileged access? What is being done to limit possible damage? Are the superpowers entering an era of "managed espionage"?
- The INF treaty specifies that the new Special Verification Commission, unlike the existing Standing Consultative Commission, must meet at the request of either party to discuss any questions regarding treaty interpretation or possible treaty violations. But the treaty does not say much else about the operation and structure of the SVC. How does it work? What measures will be taken to prevent it from being perceived as "a black hole," as former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger once called the SCC? Will the SVC provide annual reports to the public?

August 29, 1988

Short-Notice Inspections May Begin

Beginning today, each side has the right to inspect, in person, missile operating bases and support structures. Such inspections are to be used to verify the numbers of remaining missiles and launchers as well as to verify that former missile operating bases and support structures are not being used for purposes prohibited by the treaty. The nation requesting a short-notice inspection must be accommodated no later than 48 hours after the inspection team specifies which site it wants to visit.

STORY IDEAS

- The agreement describes in detail the requirements governing on-site inspections. These include a time limit of twenty-four hours, with a possible eight-hour extension to complete it; a list of tools that may be used during the inspection, including "portable weighing devices," "radiation detection devices," "linear segment devices," and cameras. Inspectors may request that pictures be taken, but the photographs must be snapped by the inspection party, with the inspectors' own cameras. In addition, missiles and missile stages are subject to inspection only by "external visual observation." What, given such constraints, will inspectors actually be able to verify? What will a twenty-four-hour inspection include? Will the time be adequate for a thorough inspection—especially at SS-20 sites such as Novosibirsk, at which there are five missile operating bases, each with nine missiles and missile launchers?
- A maximum of twenty short-notice inspections are permitted in each of the first three years of the treaty. Who is on call to make such inspections? What preparations are taken in advance of the visits, which could total 120 for each side during the thirteen years of the treaty's implementation? What do the debriefers look for when the teams return home?
- Review the planned strategy and the politics involved in calling a short-notice inspection. How often and under what circumstances do American military officials plan to conduct such inspections? Is each side expected to create diversions in order to prompt the other to waste its limited number of inspections on verification of nonevents? What can game theory contribute to the optimization of inspections?

1988

July 1, 1988

Missile Elimination May Begin

Today is the first day that deployed missiles, deployment areas, missile operating bases, missile launchers, support structures, and other equipment may be eliminated. Each country must give the other thirty days advance notice before destroying such material. The Soviet Union has identified eight elimination facilities. At press time, the U.S. had not named any sites although four military bases in Pueblo, Colorado; Tooele, Utah; Marshall, Texas; and at Davis Mountain, Nevada, are likely to be selected.

STORY IDEAS

- Report implementation of the detailed provisions governing destruction of the missiles and support equipment. For example, why, according to the treaty, must airframes of the U.S. Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles be cut "longitudinally into two pieces," while their wings and tail section must be cut "at locations that are not assembly joints" and the front section, excluding the nuclear weapon, "crushed or flattened"?
- The missile stages, solid-fuel rocket nozzles, and motor cases of the three different Pershing rockets, the SS-20s, and SS-23s may be eliminated by "explosive demolition or burning." In the U.S., an environmental assessment statement was issued in February. What are the environmental hazards created by the execution of this and other treaty provisions?

December 1, 1988

Deadline for Portal Monitoring

Today is the last day each side may establish a continuous vigil at the entrance to facilities at which ground-launched ballistic missiles are produced. The monitoring at the Votkinsk Machine Building in Udmurt and at the Hercules Plant No. 1 in Magna, Utah, are intended to insure that neither side produces intermediate-range missiles in facilities capable of producing long-range weapons or missile components.

STORY IDEA

- What are the living accommodations for the visiting monitors, who are prohibited from traveling farther than fifty kilometers from the plants? What other restrictions may host nations place on the portal monitors? How closely will the host escorts assigned to accompany the monitors actually follow them? What direct communication links will they have with their own governments? What contact will they have with local civilians?

December 1, 1989

All Shorter-Range Missiles Destroyed

Eighteen months after the treaty has entered into force, the Soviet Union must now have destroyed all of its 926 deployed and nondeployed shorter-range SS-12 and SS-23 missiles, their missile launchers, and support equipment.

STORY IDEAS

- What is the political situation in Europe regarding a possible increase in the number of battlefield nuclear weapons? Does increased dependence on battlefield nuclear weapons increase the dangers of nuclear terrorism? How may NATO and Warsaw Pact forces respond to the elimination of shorter-range systems?

- What is the status of the U.S. plans to compensate for nuclear weapons withdrawn from Europe with the long-range nuclear-capable F-15E aircraft as a replacement for the aging F-111s? Will the planned follow-on to the Lance missile—the ATACM—be developed as a nuclear-capable missile? What is the status of other planned modernizations, including development of a nuclear-armed short-range air-to-surface missile, the repositioning of FB-111 strategic aircraft to the Continent, and the expansion of the inventory of nuclear-tipped artillery shells?

- Is the “denuclearization of Europe,” hailed by some and feared by others, a significant prospect?

June 1, 1990

Monitoring of Production Plants May Cease

Portal monitoring of production plants at Votkinsk and Magna, Utah, will continue only if production or final assembly of the weapons continues. If production ceases for twelve months, monitoring also ceases—unless production resumes.

STORY IDEA

- Based on the experience with portal monitoring at the Hercules plant in Utah, what is the thinking among U.S. executives about permitting intrusive forms of inspection that may be required under future arms control agreements? Launcher production facilities at Middle River, Maryland, and San Diego were subject to full monitoring. What was the experience here and at Soviet facilities at Volgograd, Petropavlovsk, and Sverdlovsk?

November 1, 1990

Launchers on Each Side Sharply Limited

By today, each side may possess deployed launchers capable of carrying no more than 171 warheads. As with virtually every other element of the treaty, this provision requires the Soviets to dismantle substantially more missiles than the U.S.

STORY IDEA

- By the end of three years the Soviet Union will have had to dismantle and destroy 1,752 medium- and shorter-range missiles compared with the U.S. obligation to destroy 859. How has the precedent of asymmetrical reductions affected other arms control talks, such as those over conventional forces?

1990

1991

2001

1989

First President Ratified

DEA new U.S. administrations into office, been done to insurgency responsible seeing the nation's ratification of the treaty, the Inspection Agency Department of Defense domestic politics? How has the organized its own information machinery?

1989

Dependence Day

STORY IDEA

How are the U.S. portal monitors at Votkinsk celebrating the holiday? In fact, what is twenty-four hours in the life of a portal monitor really like, anyway?

1991

End of the INF Era

Today, all missiles, launchers, support structures, and equipment must be eliminated. Short-notice inspections to verify compliance may continue for an additional ten years. Portal monitoring of production plants may continue if production does.

STORY IDEAS

With all Soviet SS-20 missiles now destroyed, and hundreds of targets for U.S. nuclear weapons therefore eliminated, how have targeting strategies at the Strategic Air Command changed? Have Air Force and Navy strategic systems been redeployed to other targets previously assigned to American cruise and Pershing missiles?

Pershing II missiles were able to reach their targets in eight minutes. The same was true of Soviet SS-20s. How does the elimination of weapons with such short warning times contribute to crisis stability?

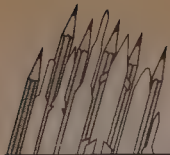
June 1, 2001

Treaty Implementation Complete

Over the last ten years, with all INF missiles having been eliminated by 1991, verification procedures may have included baseline inspections, short-notice on-site inspections, and portal monitoring. Today the right to conduct short-notice on-site inspections ends, as does the right of portal monitoring. The treaty, however, remains in force indefinitely. Any questions about compliance will be referred to the Special Verification Commission.

STORY IDEAS

- What are the views of the air-crew members and inspectors appointed back in 1988 on U.S.–Soviet relations and arms control? Did the INF pact contribute to a new arms competition, or did it help usher in a period of military restraint? How well did the Special Verification Commission perform? Can such intrusive verification measures be made to work? Was the nuclear modernization planned before the INF treaty was ratified actually completed? Or did the Soviets, as secretary of defense Frank Carlucci testified they would, succeed in making the case that modernization programs were incompatible with the INF treaty itself?



JULY/AUGUST 1988

The Campaign Press And Nuclear Issues

By Jay Rosen

On April 12, one week before the New York primary, Michael S. Dukakis was interviewed by reporters and editors of the *New York Daily News*. On the subject of nuclear weapons, the following exchange occurred:

Q. "Can you conceive of any scenario where you'd use nuclear weapons first, as a strategic weapon?"

A. "Yes, yes. I would hope I wouldn't have to."

Q. "What kind of scenario?"

A. "Well, I'm for a policy of no early first use. But our present strategy in Europe assumes that if the Soviets were to invade and conventional forces couldn't stop them, we'd reserve the right to use nuclear force."

Dukakis went on to say that he doubted such a scenario would unfold, and that, with Gorbachev in power, an opportunity existed for deep reductions in conventional forces. Until then, he added, "we've got to be prepared to use nuclear force—obviously with great restraint, and only when there seems to be no other alternative."

By saying he would reserve the right to use nuclear weapons, Dukakis essentially reiterated NATO's generation-old policy of Flexible Response, which permits the first use of nuclear weapons to counter a major Soviet conventional attack. Dukakis would later say that he intended to associate himself with existing U.S. military doctrine. But the *Daily News* saw it differently, and so did Albert Gore, Jr. Four days of headlines in the local and national press followed, as Gore and Dukakis began trading charges. Twice they sparred in televised debates on local CBS and NBC affiliates.

First Strike or First Use?

As conducted through the news media, the argument began with the bizarre assertion that Dukakis had advocated a "first strike"—a preemptive attack with strategic weapons to destroy or render ineffective an opponent's military capability—against the Soviet Union. It shifted to whether the candidate understood strategic doctrine, and then to the wisdom of his speaking at all about the use of nuclear weapons. Gore, of course, had an interest in hyping the story, a fact that did not go unnoticed at the time. But what did go unnoticed was a crucial fact about the audience at whom these charges and countercharges were aimed. The public knows next to nothing about NATO policy. And this ignorance is what allowed an innocuous remark to become a campaign event. Moreover, the whole episode is an example of poor press performance—in particular by reporters who don't normally cover nuclear issues.

The *News* ran its first account of the Dukakis interview on April 13, under the headline THE DUKE DOES A JOHN WAYNE. Staff writer Adam Nagourney's lead

read: "Gov. Michael Dukakis yesterday said he would advocate a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union in the event of a Communist invasion of Western Europe."

The governor's answers were called "unusually detailed" and "apparently part of an effort to portray himself as tough on the Soviets." The remarks, Nagourney said, took the candidate "into areas where more experienced political leaders tread lightly." This first story was presented as a summary of what Dukakis had said and was not accompanied by a transcript of the interview or any extended excerpts, which the *News* released later.

Had the full exchange been published, the *News's* "first strike" lead would have looked dubious, since Dukakis never used the term in his answer. But this was not the only specious interpretation. Nagourney did not mention that Dukakis had immediately ruled out an "early first use"—the employment of U.S. nuclear weapons in the earliest stages of a conventional attack. Nor did he quote Dukakis saying that he would "reserve the right to use nuclear weapons," which is quite different from advocating their use. Would John Wayne ever have faced down a desperado by announcing that he "reserved the right" to shoot first?

Gore, whose campaign was almost out of life (he would withdraw the following week), began attacking Dukakis the day Nagourney's story appeared, calling the governor's remarks "irresponsible" and "a serious mistake." Gore was quoted in *The Washington Post* the next day as saying: "Traditionally, a president of the United States or a candidate to be president avoids the trap of spelling out in advance when the United States would use the awesome power contained in our nuclear arsenal."

In reporting Gore's charges on April 14, the *Daily News* retreated from its lead of the previous day—too late, however, to prevent the spread of the story to the national news media, including reports in *The Boston Globe*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and on ABC's *World News Tonight*. This time the *News* quoted the key passages in which Dukakis clearly declared against an early first use. The story, by general assignment reporter James Harney and political editor Frank Lombardi, acknowledged that Dukakis "did not use the word 'strike' in his reply."

(The original question the *News* put to Dukakis referred to the use of nuclear weapons "as a strategic weapon." But Dukakis and the *News* later agreed that the candidate began his answer before the questioner had ceased speaking. Apparently it was the use of the term *strategic weapon* in the original question that gave the *News* the opening for its first-strike lead.)

These were substantial clarifications, but by then the story was headed in another direction. A separate piece in *Newsday* by Susan Page, a Washington bureau reporter, speculated about the damage Dukakis might have done himself. She quoted Republican consultant Kevin Phillips: "If he spends three days retreating from it, it's

going to confirm the image of him as a techno-weenie in over his head."

Such speculation generated an entirely new story about the "political fallout," which was important because Dukakis's original remarks, it soon became clear, were unexceptional. Anyone reasonably informed about NATO policy could have looked at what Dukakis said and recognized it immediately as a general description of the Flexible Response doctrine adopted by NATO ministers in 1967. Flexible Response outlines a range of options NATO allies might pursue in the event of a Soviet nonnuclear invasion of Western Europe, including the possible first use of nonstrategic nuclear weapons. At the heart of the public policy is the absence of precise conditions under which nuclear weapons would be used. This vagueness is intended to create uncertainty in the minds of the Soviets, thus deterring either a conventional or nuclear attack.

Michael R. Gordon, national security correspondent of *The New York Times*, took the proper approach in his story of April 15, two days after the *News* interview broke. Gordon said Dukakis made no significant errors and was "basically restating orthodox policy" of NATO. Gordon added, however, that "military analysts" were "skeptical" of some of the governor's other arms control positions and went on to analyze them in some depth.

Gore, portrayed in the press as something of an arms control specialist, could have challenged Dukakis in a substantive manner on a range of arms control matters. But that would have involved him in a quite technical debate over programs like the Midgetman (he's for, Dukakis against). Instead, he ended up exploiting the fact that voters know very little about NATO doctrine—so little, in fact, that simply stating existing policy, as Dukakis did, can sound frightening.

What the Public Knows

A 1984 survey by the Public Agenda Foundation found that 81 percent of Americans mistakenly believe it is U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons only if the U.S. suffers a nuclear attack first. A separate survey a year later by the polling firm Martila & Kiley reached essentially the same conclusion: three out of four Americans believe that the U.S. endorses a "no first use" policy.

Levels of public knowledge are no better when it comes to the recently ratified INF treaty. Market Opinion Research, a polling firm, prepared a study for Americans Talk Security, a nonprofit and nonpartisan group. According to the poll of registered voters, just 9 percent of Americans know that the treaty eliminates all the land-based U.S. missiles in Europe that can reach the U.S.S.R. Three out of four do not realize the treaty does not affect any missiles aimed at the U.S.

Perhaps more disturbing was a series of questions about the relationship between conventional and nuclear forces in Europe. Rather than survey voters' views, the ATS poll merely asked if people were aware of a number of common arguments offered to justify current U.S. policy regarding the defense of Europe.

Fifty-nine percent had heard of the contention that the Soviet bloc has a "very large numerical advantage in some important categories of conventional forces." Only 40 percent had heard of the argument that, "to prevent a Soviet attack on Western Europe, the U.S. and its allies have had to say that we might be the first to use nuclear weapons."

This was the environment into which the Dukakis interview was dropped. Twenty-one years after the United States, as a NATO nation, agreed that nuclear weapons might be used first to repel a conventional attack in Europe, most Americans remain ignorant of

Public ignorance of nuclear policy allowed an innocuous remark by Dukakis to become a campaign event.

the policy. And even in the wake of the INF treaty ratification, most Americans do not know which missiles will be eliminated.

As these polling data suggest, even the outlines of the debate about the current military situation in Europe are poorly understood by most voters, making a debate about the defense of Europe all but impossible outside the context of apocalyptic fantasies. Gore's charges can be seen as a symptom of this fact. Although he had initially denounced Dukakis as ignorant of nuclear strategy and of the unwritten rules governing its discussion, Gore soon played on public fears of a nuclear war, picking up the *News*'s "first-strike" language.

Consider the charge Gore made at an April 13 press conference, as quoted by *Newsday* the next day: "I think it's most unwise for a president of the United States or a major candidate for the presidency to be drawn into a hypothetical discussion of when he would launch our nuclear forces and trigger the destruction of human civilization." The sentence, which begins with the original objection, swerves to a totally different line of attack—not "Dukakis is giving his hand away to the Soviets," but "Dukakis is going to blow us up."

Two Publics

Gore's rhetoric reflects the coexistence of two publics when it comes to nuclear issues. The first, consisting of informed insiders and political analysts, debates policy and then guesses at how the other public, the mass of uninformed voters, is perceiving it. These guesses are formed into sentences like, "It's going to confirm the image of him as a techno-weenie," which are then transmitted through the press to the voters. The underlying political fact—voter ignorance of American policy—is left unexamined and unchanged.

Gore set this mechanism into motion by echoing the *Daily News*'s "John Wayne" headline. It was unlikely that anyone who understood NATO doctrine would support Gore's criticism of Dukakis, but the coverage his charges generated was enough to raise the "How will



this hurt Dukakis?" question. That brought a different kind of expertise—political punditry—into play rather than a more substantive strategic analysis like Michael Gordon's. Meanwhile, Gore offered a separate attack for audiences ignorant of NATO doctrine: Dukakis might trigger a nuclear war.

Had Gore spent more time talking about actual NATO doctrine, he might have educated voters, but that would have worked to his disadvantage. Like Dukakis, Gore supports Flexible Response. And like Dukakis, he was in the difficult position of supporting a policy the pros and cons of which escape voters because they know nothing about it. In order to capitalize on the fearful tone of the *Daily News* coverage, Gore had to portray Dukakis as being in favor of the policy of first use, without shedding too much light on that policy, which Gore himself supports. He was in a tricky speech situation: how to talk about the ignorance Dukakis supposedly showed, while doing as little as possible to cure the ignorance of the voter, which his rhetoric exploited.

Gore, of course, was merely trying to win votes. He ultimately failed and withdrew from the race. But with the general election now just a few months away, the failure of the press must be noted. The *Daily News* made the entire flap possible with its inaccurate, ludicrous summary and John Wayne rhetoric. *Newsday's* Susan Page took the story out of the realm of policy, where a considerable service could have been done in educating voters about nuclear doctrine, into a netherworld of images and perceptions in which the expertise that was applied—Phillips and his "techno-weenie" remark—was not the kind of expertise voters needed.

Even worse was the cooperation Gore got in suggesting that any discussion of nuclear policy plays into the hands of the Soviets. It may be, as Gore said, that "traditionally" candidates do not spell out their views on the use of nuclear weapons. That does not mean the tradition is a good or necessary one. (Indeed, it may

be one reason voters know so little about U.S. policy in Europe.) To suggest, as some of the coverage did, that campaign statements about nuclear weapons could tie the hands of a president shows, first, an extraordinary faith in the sincerity of campaign pledges, and, second, a curiously antidemocratic attitude.

This reached almost comic heights in Richard Reeves's column in the *News* on April 18. Reeves, present at the interview with Dukakis, wrote that he walked out of the meeting "in a bit of a shock" after hearing Dukakis say he would use nuclear weapons first in Europe. He went on to criticize Dukakis for allowing himself "to be drawn into" a discussion about where and when he would commit U.S. troops. Reeves said he was "appalled" that Dukakis "seemed to have no restraint in talking in detail about what he would or wouldn't do in theoretical situations involving the life and death of his countrymen."

In fact, what is more nearly appalling is the continuing ignorance of the public and the campaign press, and journalists' own failure to master the basics of U.S. nuclear policy. In this case, the suggestion that Dukakis had said something significant or mistaken to the *Daily News* was made possible by the historical failure of the press to communicate a knowledge of U.S. nuclear policy to the public.

Certainly thousands of pronouncements have been issued, roundtables held, and articles published about NATO doctrine over the years. But the release of information is not the same as the communication of policy. Any solution to the problem of public ignorance must begin with this fact. The press can do its part by recognizing where ignorance exists, and by resisting the temptation to exploit it.

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The Armenian Protests: Is It Passion or Politics?

By Mark Saroyan

It was in late February when the first reports of massive protests in Soviet Armenia reached Western reporters. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* provided extensive coverage of this complex breaking news story, which centered on Armenian territorial claims to the predominantly Armenian district of Nagorno-Karabakh in the neighboring republic of Soviet Azerbaijan.

In spite of the volume of coverage, however, the American reports, which focused on what was depicted as deep-seated and seemingly immutable hostility between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, failed to explore in depth a range of social, economic, and political factors that were also important elements of the story.

By contrast, *Le Monde*, the Parisian daily noted for its coverage of international news, reported ethnic hostility but, in addition, underlined the changing nature of the political situation in the Transcaucasian region of the USSR, the economic issues dividing the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and the subtleties of the negotiations that took place between Moscow and the leadership of the southern republics.

The reporting of this story from Moscow was a textbook case of the frustrations that face a reporter bent on getting the facts—even in the Gorbachev era. Yet, at a time when it is widely agreed that the nationalities question is going to be high on the Soviet agenda for years to come, it is none too soon for journalists to reconsider their approach to this complex subject and perhaps, in light of *Le Monde's* coverage, to contemplate additional ways of understanding this story.

Armenia, the *Post*, and the *Times*

In *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the

events beginning with the first demonstrations in Armenia and culminating with Moscow's announcement of measures designed to resolve the crisis in late March were presented as expressions of a kind of primordial ethnic sentiment. "The riots have brought to the surface deep-seated bitterness between two rival ethnic groups . . .," Gary Lee, Moscow correspondent for *The Washington Post*, wrote in a story published on March 3. That hostility, Lee continued, "has existed for decades and been left to smolder by past Kremlin policies of benign neglect toward the Soviet nationalities problem."

In this view, which was apparently widely shared among those reporting the story, ethnic and religious differences themselves seemed to provide a sufficient explanation of the conflict. This assumption was apparent in coverage that repeatedly pointed out the fact that "Armenians and Azerbaijanis are divided by religion and a history of conflict that predates the formation of the Soviet Union," in the words of Philip Taubman, *The New York Times* Moscow bureau chief, on March 6. David Remnick, a member of *The Washington Post's* bureau in Moscow, also emphasized such historic tensions, quoting a senior Western diplomat in a report published on March 5 to the effect that the conflicts are a product of ethnic relations "that go back deeper in history" than the Soviet state itself. Instead of describing the character of each national claim and the origins and nature of the conflicts between them, such articles lead to the conclusion, obviously not intended by the writers but sedimented in their texts nevertheless, that ethnic enmity is inherent in ethnic difference itself.

If ethnic conflict is inevitable in this view, it seems that it finds its primordial expression through religion. The fact that Armenians are Christian and Azerbaijanis Shiite Muslim, for example, appeared often in *Post* and *Times* accounts as the most fundamental explanation of conflict between the two peoples. "The most important difference between them is religion," Gary Lee wrote in a story published on March 3 that explained the causes of the violent Azerbaijani protests in Sumgait a few days before. Two days earlier, in fact, he had written, "Whether the Sumgait disturbance was instigated by the earlier [territorial] squabbles or not, religious differences seem to be at the root of the outbreaks." Reports appearing in the *Times* took a similar position, emphasizing what reporter Felicity Barringer referred to on February 24 as "Islamic-Christian frictions." An observation by Taubman the same day that "most Armenians are Christian and most Azerbaijanis Muslim" appeared under the subhead WHAT THE PROTESTS ARE ABOUT—as if the fact of religious difference was adequate to explain the nature of the complex conflict. Undoubtedly intended to provide information helpful in understanding the current territorial disputes, this description appeared, with some variation, in numerous *Times* and *Post* articles published during the first weeks of the Nagorno-Karabakh events. By means of such mantralike repetition, this accurate description of religious diversity was transformed from a statement of fact into an explanation of events. Indeed, little additional

analysis of the situation would seem to be necessary once correspondents present as natural and logical the fact that Christians and Muslims do not get along.

Without such further analysis of the specific circumstances of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, it was perhaps inevitable that correspondents, seeking to gauge the significance of the conflict, would be tempted to conflate the Armenian-Azerbaijani events with national conflicts elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Taubman, for one, included the Armenian and Azerbaijani protests in an account of nationalist movements in the USSR that grouped together such dramatically disparate cases as Estonia and Kazakhstan. A day earlier, on February 24, Taubman had already proposed that "many [nation-

The fact that Armenians are Christian and Azerbaijanis Shiite Muslim appeared in the *Post* and the *Times* as the most fundamental explanation of the conflict.

alities] remain hostile to Moscow and, encouraged by Mr. Gorbachev's calls for increased openness and democracy, have agitated for more autonomy." As subsequent *Times* coverage made clear, however, during the Armenian demonstrations that Taubman was reporting, protesters did not call for more autonomy from Moscow but appealed for Moscow's intervention in local affairs to satisfy claims against Azerbaijan.

In other reports, the religious dimension of the conflict was dramatized by linking it to the threat to Soviet authority posed by the large Muslim populations in Soviet Asia. Despite the fact that it was Armenian claims that sparked the protests, Taubman wrote in a March 6 story that the protests were "most of all a warning about potential instability in predominantly Muslim regions that arc across the southern part of the country." The tendency to interpret Christian Armenian activism as a warning about the political instability of the Muslim population was also in evidence in a March 1 *Post* article by Lee, which reflected on the violent Azerbaijani reactions to the Armenian demonstrations and argued that "the Sumgait clash appeared to illustrate the volatility of religious conflict in officially secular Soviet society and particularly in the southern Muslim republics located near the Islamic fundamentalist state of Iran."

An Emphasis on Control

This view of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations complemented certain assumptions about the actions that the Soviet government took in response to the crisis. Depicting national conflicts as primordial and natural, and therefore probably irresolvable short of true independence, the reporters could not but pay scant attention to the concessions offered by the Soviet government that were intended to satisfy the Armenian protesters. For example, the Kremlin's seven-year, 400-million-ruble (\$668 million) program of social, economic, and cultural development for Karabakh, an important con-



cession designed to address the officially accepted claims of discrimination, received little attention in the newspapers. Similarly, an important meeting between Gorbachev and Armenian writers Zori Balayan and Silva Kaputikyan, during which the Armenians listed a range of nonterritorial complaints, including a lack of Armenian television broadcasts and textbooks in Azerbaijan, was noted only briefly in the American newspapers.

Instead, reporters focused on Soviet efforts to control the protests. On March 3, for example, soon after Gorbachev negotiated a moratorium on the Armenian street protests, Gary Lee turned not to the implications of the recent negotiations but to speculations about how the Kremlin was "apparently . . . studying how seriously it needs to crack down to keep nationalities under control." In fact, Lee's conclusion on March 30 that the Kremlin's "primary objective is the maintenance of law and order" was representative of a number of reports. Thus, despite some stories describing diplomatic moves to resolve the crisis, the most salient accounts in these papers during this time featured Moscow's efforts to assert control for its own sake.

The World According to *Le Monde*

Nearby, at the *Le Monde* office, however, another way of looking at the events held sway. In his second report as the new USSR correspondent for *Le Monde*, published March 1, Bernard Guetta compared the Armenian demonstrations with a diverse group of other social movements, including Poland's Solidarity, the May 1968 student rebellion in Paris, and the 1975 Portuguese revolution. "How can one explain that in all latitudes and under all regimes, great collective movements find, as if instinctively, the same gestures and the same rhythms . . . ?" Guetta asked. To Guetta and his colleagues at *Le Monde*, the cause of the Armenian protests could not be reduced to the national or religious character of the protesters alone. Instead, *Le Monde*'s reports generally portrayed the conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis as political in nature.

Although ethnicity remained vital to *Le Monde*'s presentation of the events, the politics by which it was expressed and mediated were of most interest to the paper. In a brief work of Kremlinological analysis on March 6, Michel Tatu, the paper's former Moscow correspondent and one of France's leading journalists writing on Soviet affairs, discussed recent personnel transfers in Azerbaijan. The story, published the same day that Taubman was warning *Times* readers about the Muslim arc of instability across the country's southern flank, discussed what had actually aggravated the Armenians, including an attempt by an Azerbaijani to represent the Armenian city of Stepanakert in the republic's Supreme Soviet, and a case in which Azerbaijan's most important newspaper ridiculed Armenia with impunity. "Put otherwise," Tatu wrote, "the official organ of the Communist party of Azerbaijan allowed itself to insult the national dignity of Armenians." These events, insulting to Armenian prestige and inimical to Armenian political interests, were among the incidents contributing to the

outbreak of Armenian protests in February, Tatu wrote. Similarly, Guetta sought to explain Azerbaijani riots in the city of Sumgait in terms of what, concretely, had irked the Azerbaijanis. "They were protesting, on the one hand, against their denunciation [as oppressors of Armenians] before the world, and on the other hand, against the possibility of seeing their republic deprived of territory that they had controlled since 1923."

A March 9 background piece by Charles Urjewicz, an instructor at the Institut National de Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, added a historical and sociological dimension to *Le Monde*'s reporting. According to Urjewicz, in nineteenth-century Transcaucasia "cities became cosmopolitan centers dominated by a dynamic and experienced Armenian bourgeoisie. In the eyes of Azerbaijanis and Georgians," Urjewicz continued, the Armenians "became a symbol of foreign capitalism."

As a result of *Le Monde*'s close attention to the internal dynamics of the situation, the paper's correspondents also followed more closely than did the Americans the political maneuvers of the Soviet leadership as it sought to appease Armenian demonstrators. In contrast to the sparse coverage given these efforts by the *Times* and the *Post*, *Le Monde* carried two long articles that prominently featured the Karabakh redevelopment program proposed by authorities in Moscow, one by Agence France-Presse, published on March 25, and a second by Guetta on March 26. Noting that Moscow's solution "isn't annexation to Armenia, but isn't nothing either," Guetta underscored the Kremlin's two-track policy toward the Armenians: repress any further street actions and offer better conditions for Karabakh Armenians in the short term, while hinting at a promise of more in the future.

Le Monde's interest in the real politics of the conflict also produced considerable coverage of debates within the central Communist party leadership over the conflict. Pieces by Guetta and foreign correspondent Sylvie Kauffman closely analyzed the constraints felt by Moscow in its efforts to resolve the crisis. In fact, Guetta, from his very first dispatch from Moscow, focused on the identity of interests that emerged between Gorbachev and the Armenian protesters and speculated on future political maneuvers and compromises each side might make. In his article, headlined A SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE SEEMS TO TAKE HOLD IN ARMENIA, Guetta provided a sense of the mutual accommodation that emerged between Gorbachev, the Armenian party leadership, and the protesters. "The whistling that had welcomed the appearance of the [Armenian Communist party] first secretary ended," Guetta wrote of one demonstration. "Everyone understood that a deal was in the air. Soon men who were in tune with the crowds took to the microphone . . . to make the crowds understand that all one could hope for had been gained and that one had to let things play themselves out. . . ."

Politics Above All

In some notable instances, American reporters did provide a description of such dynamics. A detailed arti-

cle by Felicity Barringer and Bill Keller published in the *Times* of March 11 and a March 21 piece by Gary Lee in the *Post* paid more attention to what the Armenians and Azerbaijanis themselves were thinking. Reporters from both papers did describe the political and diplomatic solutions proposed by Gorbachev, but far less fully than their counterparts at *Le Monde*. The American reporters basically subscribed to the position that the issue is, as Gary Lee put it in the *Post* of February 29, one of "controlling restive nationalities" whose religious differences appeared naturally to motivate them to mutual antagonism. Seen from this perspective, no Soviet political solution was likely possible, since primordial national interests must come into inevitable conflict with (as Taubman put it) the equally immutable "ethic of Soviet socialism—central control, a premium on discipline, abhorrence of disorder."

For the correspondents of *Le Monde*, however, the conflict between the Soviet state and the social actors is a dynamic one. Instead of focusing on the unchanging

nature of the relationships, the French reporters took Soviet politics seriously on its own terms, emphasizing the fluid nature of the political situation and the give-and-take among the parties. With this in mind, they followed closely the dynamics of the Armenian movement, the Azerbaijani reactions, and the combination of coercive and diplomatic moves by the Gorbachev leadership to manage, if not to resolve, the tensions. In doing so, they sketched the outline of interest-group politics, Soviet style, in contrast to the picture of erupting primordial passions that dominated the American coverage. For the French journalists at *Le Monde* it was politics—ethnically motivated—but politics all the same.

MARK SAROYAN is a doctoral candidate at the University of California at Berkeley in political science. He has traveled extensively in Soviet Transcaucasia, and recently conducted research at the Azerbaijan State University at Baku.

Reporting the Nuclear News

(continued from page 2)

vance with respect to its general outlines and procedures but full of time-urgent drama, color, and even good pictures. Some of the stories suggested by the Center's own reading of the treaty as though it were a lengthy daybook appear on pages 3 through 5, but many others remain locked away in the pages of the treaty protocols. Nevertheless, it should be abundantly clear that, no matter how you make your news judgments, the real INF story has only just begun.

Journalists' decisions about how to cover this and other nuclear stories in the post-INF environment will have significant consequences for the country. According to a recent study of the reading habits of 124 foreign- and defense-policy aides on congressional staffs, conducted by William H. Kincade, the most important sources of printed information on national security—amidst the flood of reports and studies available to Congress—are newspaper reports and articles in the *National Journal* and the *Congressional Quarterly*.

Inescapable Politics

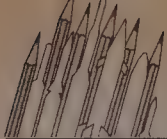
The public is even more dependent on the news media for direction on national security issues. A recent study of the impact of television news by Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, *News That Matters*, actually establishes a causal relationship between news coverage of individual issues and public estimates of their importance. Comparing subjects covered on *CBS Evening News* broadcasts with responses to polls that solicited opinion about the most important problem facing the country, Iyengar and Kinder conclude, for example, that the airing of three lead stories on unemployment has historically raised the percentage of responses mentioning that issue by 1 percent. A single story on energy

has produced the same effect.

Supplementing their historical studies with experiments in which they altered actual *Evening News* tapes to vary the coverage of individual issues, the authors discovered that viewing four daily "broadcasts" containing stories about arms control actually doubled the percentage (to 65 percent) of those who named arms control as one of the country's three most important problems—an increase the authors call "massive." Overall, they conclude, "television news powerfully influences which problems viewers regard as the nation's most serious. Rising prices, unemployment, energy shortages, arms control . . . become high priority political issues for the public only if they first become high priority news items for the networks."

Journalists, of course, do not generally do stories in order to promote their own priorities; they act in response to judgments of what they consider to be newsworthy for their public. In doing so, however, as Iyengar and Kinder make clear, they exercise enormous political power—power that many of them are uncomfortable even admitting they possess. But the phenomenon described by Iyengar and Kinder is consistent with the American experience following the Limited Test Ban a quarter of a century ago, when, as Lawrence Freedman's analysis suggests, the press helped remove the nuclear issue from the political arena. Whatever journalists now choose to do with the nuclear story, they have no choice but to practice their profession in the knowledge that their actions, despite their own intentions, shape the politics of national defense. The consequences of this fact—and of journalists' efforts to come to grips with it—will affect the security of this nation for decades to come.

ROBERT KARL MANOFF is co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.



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The Center bibliography was compiled by William A. Dorman, a professor of journalism at California State University in Sacramento, Robert Karl Manoff, co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, and Jennifer Weeks, a research analyst at the Center. The price is \$7 plus one dollar for postage and handling. To order, please complete the form below.

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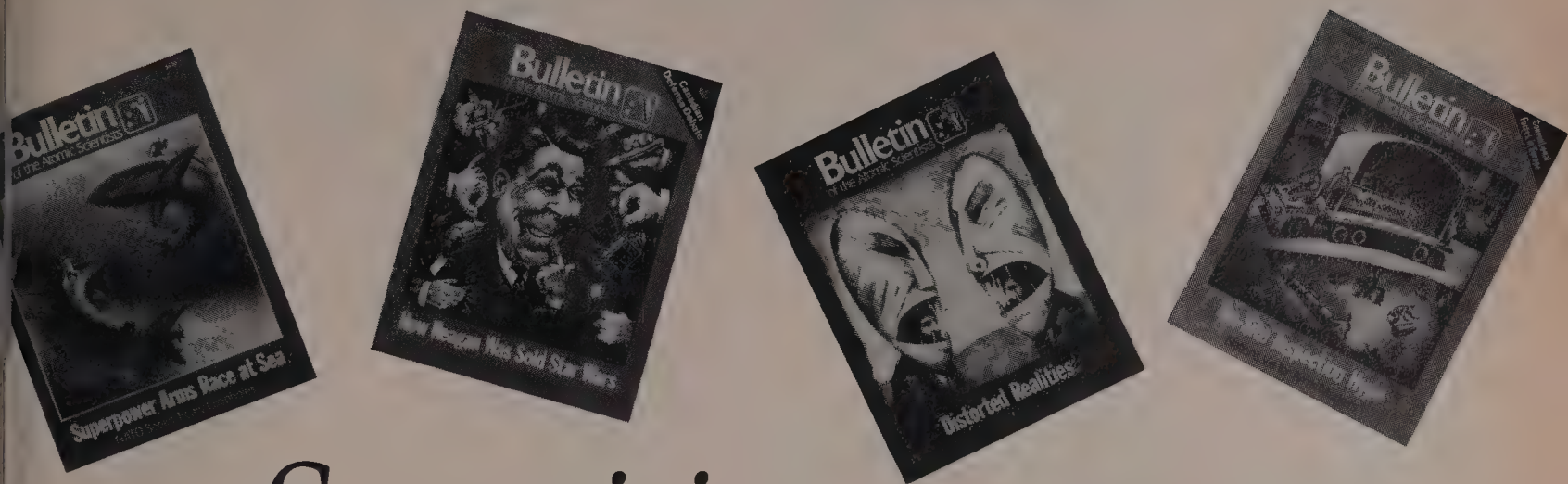
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—"The Earthly Origins of Star Wars," Gregg Herken, October 1987

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—"Slick'ems, Glick'ems, Christmas Trees, and Cookie Cutters: Nuclear Language and How We Learned to Pat the Bomb," Carol Cohn, June 1987

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DOWNTOWN DIPLOMAT

Irvine Mayor Larry Agran wants local officials to take foreign policy into their own hands. After all, he has.

BY ROBERT SCHAEFFER

Whenever Congress challenges his foreign policy, President Reagan complains that foreign policy cannot be made by 535 "secretaries of state." Foreign policymaking, he argues, is a presidential prerogative.

But if he thinks that 535 would-be secretaries of state will upset the speak-with-one-voice approach to foreign policy, imagine how Reagan and State Department officials would view the prospect of 500,000 self-styled diplomats taking foreign policy into their own hands.

Yet this is roughly the number of local elected officials—city council members, mayors, county supervisors as well as state assembly representatives and governors—around the United States who can and sometimes do make foreign policy. During the past few years, more and more state and municipal officials have become *de facto* diplomats, making decisions about the conduct of international trade and finance, immigration, and political relations with foreign countries.

Larry Agran, mayor of Irvine, California, a suburb 35 miles south of Los Angeles, is one of those downtown diplomats, a mayor who "meddles" in foreign affairs.

"Why, for heaven's sake, should we leave foreign policy to a very few people in Washington, D.C.?" he argues. "These matters are much too important to be left to a few, who, left to their own devices, will make the wrong choices.

"All you have to do is take a look at the Iran-Contra scandal to see once again the hazards of relegating foreign policy, not just to Congress and the president, but to a few unelected officials in the White House

basement. This is the opposite of democratic decision-making. Democratic policymaking is preferable to the false harmony of executively directed foreign policies."

Agran believes that local elected officials can and should help shape national policy. Because local governments are "unusually independent political animals" that respond to grassroots pressure, "city halls in America are an appropriate place for people to voice their concern about foreign policy issues," he says.

In recent years cities have used the tools of local government—lobbying, policing and educating—to make their own foreign policy. Some 120 cities have fought the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) nuclear crisis relocation exercises, 150 have established nuclear-free zones, 900 have passed advisory nuclear freeze resolutions, and 100 have divested money from firms doing business in South Africa. "All this is more than a curious occurrence of random events," Agran says. "These are bold, effective, legal developments that help shape the form and content of U.S. foreign policy."

To promote this development and increase the participation of local officials in foreign policymaking, Agran helped found the Local Elected Officials Project (LEO) in 1982—now part of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy—and launch the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, a magazine covering city government's involvement in international trade, cultural exchanges and global politics, which goes to some 2,000 local elected officials and 3,000 citizen supporters across the country. The *Bulletin* reports on municipal efforts on issues such as arms control, Central America, economic conversion, U.S. military bases and homeporting, nuclear-free zones, human

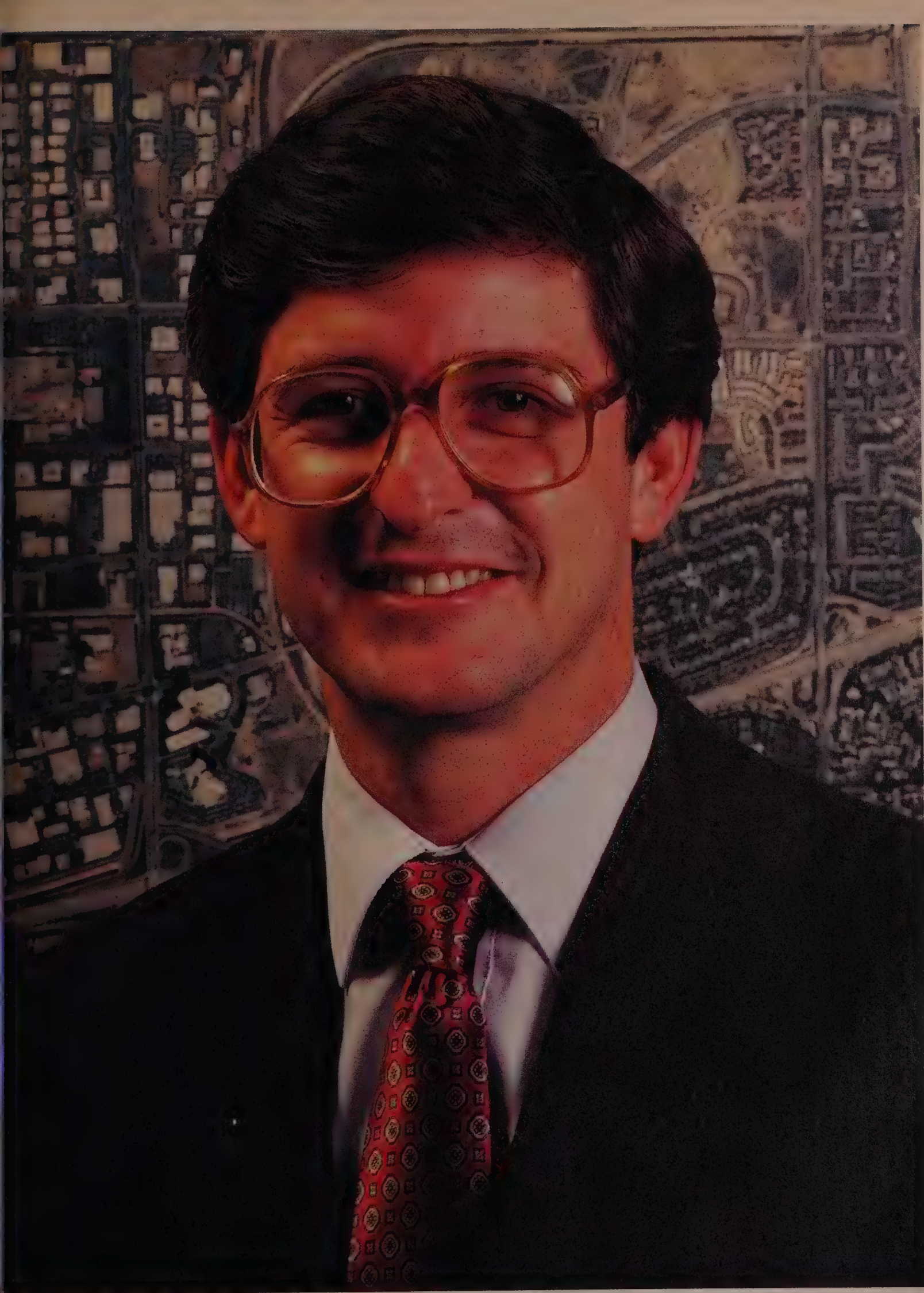
rights, U.S.-Soviet relations and international trade.

Agran hopes that his work with LEO and the *Bulletin* will "build permanent institutions of municipal foreign policymaking." He thinks that people working on local foreign policy should find a "home in city halls of America."

A student activist as an undergraduate at the University of California at Berkeley in the mid-1960s, Agran went on to specialize in public law at Harvard Law School, where he graduated in 1969. Turning to California, he practiced law, taught law and began working on environmental and health-care issues. He wrote the book, *The Cancer Connection*, in 1971, which criticized the federal government for failing to develop effective cancer-prevention programs. A director of Communitarian Cause in Southern California and an active participant in the state's Democratic Party, Agran then moved to Irvine in 1975 with his wife Phyllis, a pediatrician, and son Kenneth. Agran is passionate about health care, the environment, and now, foreign policy. These are areas where he thinks local government can and should play a major role.

Agran's commitment to municipal foreign policymaking stems from his belief that U.S. foreign policy is responsible for the ruin of American cities. In testimony before the House Budget Committee in July 1987, Agran told Congress that he was frustrated with trying to save modest programs that benefit America's cities, while Congress and the president "squandered tens of billions on useless weapons systems."

Agran called on Congress to "end the Cold War with the Soviet Union, end



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arms race that threatens our planet and is wrecking our economy, and end the president's and Congress' undeclared war against America's cities and towns, a dirty little war waged by way of federal budgets that are bloated with military spending while programs of essential social support are cut, cut, and cut again."

Agran offered a proposal to cut \$50 billion from military spending by eliminating "waste and fraud," scrapping nuclear weapons that are "clearly offensive and provocative in character," scaling down our commitment to NATO, and negotiating arms control agreements with the Soviets that can "translate into multibillion-dollar reductions in military spending."

These are strong words for the mayor of a city in Orange County, a county that registers two Republicans for every Democrat, voted three-to-one for Ronald Reagan in 1984, and receives nearly \$3 billion in defense contracts each year.

The soft-spoken, buttoned-down Agran does not shy away from challenging his own city's role in the arms race. "If we stopped the arms race tomorrow," he says, "we'd have 15 percent unemployment in our area. Even though people do legitimately attack what I do as a betrayal of local economic self-interest, I've decided not to defend the city's short-term interest but to take the longer view that the arms race is not in the interest of our city or any other American city."

This position distinguishes Agran not only from elected Republican officials but from many Democrats as well. "I'm comfortable being called a 'liberal Democrat' because the Democrats for a long time delivered policies of real benefit to many people. But I distinguish myself from Cold War Democrats who got caught up in the arms race, because they have done great damage to the party and the country."

As mayor, and with the backing of a majority of the city council, Agran has been able to conduct his own kind of quiet diplomacy. He condemned border patrol raids within city limits as an "unconstitutional invasion of undocumented workers' rights" and encouraged local employers to help these workers establish U.S. residency. He refused to allow the city to participate in FEMA nuclear crisis relocation exercises. When the Nicaraguan national baseball team played an exhibition game in nearby Long Beach, Agran welcomed them at City Hall, an act that upset contra supporters. And he has been working with the Chamber of Commerce to write an ordinance creating an Office of International Affairs to develop sister-city relationships, help develop trade and promote interna-

tional cultural exchanges. He has also persuaded the city council to review Irvine's \$300-400 million investment policy, with an eye towards possible divestment in companies doing business with South Africa. And he has lobbied the U.S. Conference of Mayors to endorse a resolution supporting a test ban treaty as the "shortest, surest path to ending the arms race."

How does Agran, a liberal Democrat, get away with lambasting military spending in Congress, money that is mother's milk to high-tech defense industries in Irvine? How does he manage to extend an official welcome to Nicaraguan nationals, reject FEMA's preparations for nuclear war and work to promote divestment and test ban treaties? How does Agran manage to get elected and re-elected in one of the most notoriously right-wing counties in the country?

The answer is simple. Agran became mayor in 1982, having served as a city council member since 1978, because he is a smart, pragmatic, principled politician who delivers the goods to local voters. He has been able to assemble a moderate majority that elects liberal Democrats to the city council, which in turn has elected him mayor.

To some extent Agran is the political beneficiary of a scheme hatched by a vindictive Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown (the father of Gov. Jerry Brown) after he defeated Richard Nixon in the 1962 gubernatorial race. Brown lost only three Republican counties to Nixon (Orange, San Diego and Santa Cruz). Determined to make these counties more Democratic in future elections, Brown carried out a plan to put a campus of the University of California in each one. By the end of the 1960s, the U.S. campuses—hotbeds of liberalism—had shifted the political composition of the three counties' electorates. U.C. Irvine is the liberal worm in the county's orange.

Agran acknowledges that he draws support from the liberal U.C. community. But he points out that, unlike Santa Cruz (which has elected not just Democratic but socialist mayors in recent years), "Irvine is not a university town." The U.C. community makes up only 7 percent of the vote.

More important, Agran says, is what he describes as "a progressive core—some 20 to 25 percent of the electorate." When they are combined with the county's moderate voters, "you can put together a governing majority if you are attentive to local concerns."

In Irvine this means protecting the environment, controlling the expansion of traf-

fic networks, and imposing strict planning requirements on development.

Irvine is one of the largest planned communities in the United States. It has well-maintained, tree-lined streets and few of the outward signs of suburban sprawl: TV antennas, utility poles or billboard clutter the skyline. It may be ironic, but in a city where many people view curbside recycling as a "collectivist plot," the citizenry enthusiastically supports dictatorial democratic control on commercial buildings and private homes. Strong homeowner associations insist on it. "If we are discussing a new traffic light, people will pour over the proposal. We'll have 200 people show up for a new stop signal so that one or two children won't be the victims of deficient public policy," Agran says. "So long as they know I work to protect their legitimate interests, the voters will let me quietly pursue the other issues."

"People, even conservatives, charge me with the responsibility for the general health and safety of the community, which means working to solve traffic problems, growth, smoking in the workplace, waste disposal and so on," he continues. "People put their faith in government to deal with these things. Some people talk about a need for small government, but when it comes to these issues, they want all the government help they can get."

The result is a political strategy that combines two very different philosophies. Agran's open-door, internationalist foreign policy is similar to economic theories of "free trade," while his heavily regulated protectionist city policy has a "mercantilist" character. While most economists see these as irreconcilable opposites, to Agran they are pragmatically compatible. "I believe in a mixed economic and political approach. Where narrow self-interests are legitimate, it is right to let people assert their self-interest. But it is also appropriate for city officials to assert a wider, sometimes global interest. I don't get excited about labels like 'free trade' or 'mercantilist.' Let's figure out what works. There are very few ideologues out there. Most people just want honest, decent government that works."

The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policies, a quarterly publication, may be obtained from the Local Elected Officials Project, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F, Irvine, CA 92714, for \$15 a year. Membership in the organization is \$35 annually. Build Municipal Foreign Policies by Michael Shuman, an organizing handbook for citizens and local elected officials, may also be obtained from LEO for \$6.

STRETCHED OUT

OVERREACHING MILITARY CONTRIBUTES
AMERICA'S DECLINE AS A GREAT POWER



The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers by Paul Kennedy (\$24.95, 677 pages, Random House, 1987).

The popular success of *Rise and Fall*, now several months on bestseller lists, catapulted Paul Kennedy onto TV talk shows and prompted summonses by congressional committees eager to hear why U.S. power is declining. For a military history professor at Yale, whose previous work on the rise and fall of British naval power excited only retired naval commanders and nautical history buffs, this kind of public attention is akin to a folk singer whose tune finds air time on top 40 radio stations, scales the charts and goes gold. Like the troubadour who popularizes a traditional ballad, Kennedy plays a melody that has been sung for some years by a small chorus of scholars working the margins of academic respectability and rearranges it for a popular audience.

To the melody—the rising and falling political fortunes of First World states—Kennedy adds a bass line of economic development and the drum beat of war. The result is a toe-tapping historical hit.

Kennedy's ballad is of considerable importance to the peace movement because it confirms the validity of peace movement thinking about the nature of the Cold War and problems associated with U.S. military power and economic development in a period of massive budget and trade deficits.

Putting the Pieces Together. In an April 17, 1988 *New York Times Magazine* article about Kennedy and the "School of Decline," to which he is said to belong, Kennedy complains that "it is a truncated version of the book that has attracted all the attention. Everyone is stampeding past the first four-fifths [of the book] to get to the section on the U.S.A." He would rather readers start where he does, in the 16th century, where he describes the rise of the

first "great" European power of the modern era: Hapsburg Spain.

Based on its profitable trade—the export of grain, wool and manufactures to and the import of bullion from its Central and South American possessions—the Spanish became a military power that controlled an empire stretching from Austria, Italy, the Low Countries and the Iberian peninsula to the West Indies and South America to the Philippines. Spain was able to develop both an efficient economy, which produced a profit, and an effective military, which could protect it and help it grow.

For a time Spain was the envy of lesser powers such as England, the Netherlands and France. But challenges to Spanish "hegemony" by Dutch Protestant revolutionaries, secessionist Italian princes, Islamic Algerian pirates, Ottoman fleets in the eastern Mediterranean, and English, Dutch and French interlopers in the African and West Indian trades tested Spanish military

strength, which was too thinly spread to meet *simultaneous* threats. War fought over vast spaces for long periods cost the Spanish government dearly and it became heavily indebted. To raise money for its armies and fleets, Spain levied taxes on individuals and businesses, which undermined their capacity to compete with enterprises in states where taxes were lower. This in turn crippled Spain's ability to raise the armies and navies necessary to fend off rising military powers. During Spain's rise, the pursuit of economic profit and military power were reinforcing. Each contributed to the other. But during its fall, the attempt to maintain political power by force contributed to economic decline and, eventually, economic decline to military failure.

The subsequent rise and fall of the Netherlands in the 17th century and Great Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries followed a similar pattern. And Kennedy thinks the United States is following the same path. "The United States," he says, "now runs the risk, so familiar to historians of the rise and fall of previous Great Powers, of what might roughly be called 'imperial overstretch': that is to say, decision-makers in Washington must face the awkward and enduring fact that the sum total of the United States' global interests and obligations is nowadays far larger than the country's power to defend them simultaneously."

Kennedy buttresses his argument with a careful analysis of the various economic and military factors (substantially different in each case) that contribute to the rise and demise of great and not-so-great states: France in the 18th century, Germany in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the Soviet Union in the mid-20th century.

This argument is not particularly new. Kennedy borrows heavily from European and American scholars who have chronicled the growth and development of the European-based capitalist world-economy from the 16th century and charted the rise and fall of states, both great and small, within it.

Kennedy draws from a number of historians and sociologists—Fernand Braudel, Frederick Lane, Charles Wilson, William McNeill, Carlo Cipolla, Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein—to construct his theoretical and historical paradigm. They deserve mention because many of their assumptions and findings are controversial. Yet Kennedy manages to make their assumptions, which he shares, seem obvious.

Most mainstream capitalist economists, for instance, base their theoretical models on the workings of peace-time economies.

War, in their view, is an abnormal economic condition. Kennedy, however, like Lane and Wilson, disputes this assumption, time and again showing how war is an integral part of capitalist development and how it shapes a country's peace-time fortunes. In this respect, Kennedy shares more with V.I. Lenin than Milton Friedman.

Mainstream economists also assume that economic development, or "modernization," is an opportunity open to all. But Kennedy argues that successful British industrialization in the late 18th century contributed directly to the de-industrialization of Third World countries, what Frank calls "underdevelopment."

And most historians are allergic to the study of long historical periods and wide geographic spaces. Kennedy, like Braudel and Wallerstein, violates this narrow-minded norm and takes a long look at the big picture. From this perspective, past developments are instructive. The United States is subject to many of the same forces that led to the fall of previous great powers: when the military becomes overextended it undermines economic competitiveness and contributes to economic decline vis-a-vis other rising states (Western Europe, China and Japan), which results in a more multipolar world, one in which no single state is hegemonic.

Implications. For the peace movement, Kennedy's findings are salutary. At a time when U.S. military growth has outstripped the economy's capacity to support a global, interventionist military presence, it is in U.S. interests to constrain the military and bring political commitments in line with economic capabilities. That is what the peace and disarmament movement, broadly defined, seeks to achieve. Even when it is unsuccessful in eliminating particular weapons systems, it acts as a brake on runaway military spending, which is detrimental to the economy and, eventually, to U.S. security.

Kennedy outflanks the debate now raging over whether military spending is good or bad for the economy in microeconomic terms [see David Moberg's "Guns or Butter," *Nuclear Times*, Nov./Dec. 1987] and shows that at the macroeconomic level it accelerates the decline of U.S. power. The peace movement understands this intuitively and has labored to show how military spending undermines U.S. security and economic prosperity.

Efforts to diffuse bipolar Cold War tensions also make sense from Kennedy's perspective because the rise of not-so-great powers and the creation of a multipolar world is proceeding whether we wage a dubious cold war or not. Better that we

don't, Kennedy argues. In this context, peace movement efforts to develop alternative security models that are relevant to a multipolar world are important because they will help cushion the impact of a U.S. fall. Because it seeks to close the gap between military commitments and economic capacity, reduce increasingly irrelevant Cold War tensions, and develop alternative security strategies, the peace movement contributes to the kind of social re-engineering Kennedy thinks is necessary.

Discordant Notes. Although Kennedy provides a cogent general argument, there are some discordant notes in his work. He uses, for example, the term "Great Power" to mean both large and good. But because the rise of great powers comes at the expense of competing First World states and underdeveloped Third World states—Britain's "greatness" came at the expense of France, but also China and India; America's greatness came at the expense of Germany and Japan, but also Mexico and American Indian nations—"great" should be used in a way to indicate it means big, not necessarily good.

Problems with this usage become evident when Kennedy discusses the also-rans: the unsuccessful we-try-harder states: Napoleonic France, multi-Reich Germany and Soviet Russia. Instead of calling these great powers, he refers to them as "empire" with grasping, acquisitive and totalitarian qualities. He refrains from calling successful great powers—the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States—empires, though that is what they are.

A final difficulty is that Kennedy focuses exclusively on the economic competition and military rivalry of the well-to-do states. He says little about the effect of this rivalry on poor and weak states, of which there are many. This is unfortunate because these countries play a major role in the fortunes of prosperous states. Moreover, it is impossible to give a full account of great power rise and fall without discussing the role played by the Vietnams and Afghanistan of the world.

Despite these weaknesses, Kennedy's book deserves its widespread public attention. It contributes to an understanding of contemporary issues and confirms what the peace movement has long suspected: that an overreaching military undermines the security and prosperity of the country that it is supposed to protect.

Torry Dickinson teaches sociology at George Mason University. Ms. Dickinson and Robert Schaeffer studied historical sociology at the State University of New York at Binghamton.

PIE IN THE SKY

AN EARLY STAR WARS CRITIC THINKS PROJECT SCIENTISTS SHOULD OWN UP TO ITS FAULTS



Ashton Carter speaks at a Harvard colloquium on his book, *Managing Nuclear Operations*.

has been jokingly said of Ashton Carter that his work on Star Wars allows him to combine his interests in physics and medieval thought: Star Wars being a kind of modern escutcheon. Carter, a physicist and professor of public policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, has managed to find time to obtain a degree in Medieval History from Yale along the way while compiling a resume that even George Bush would envy.

A Rhodes Scholar, he received his Ph.D. in theoretical physics from Oxford, and has worked at the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), the Pentagon, M.I.T., the Brookings Institution and Harvard. He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Physical Society.

In 1984, Carter wrote the very first comprehensive analysis of space-based exotic weapon technologies—what would become the basis of President Reagan's vision of a space-based defense that would render ballistic missiles "impotent and obsolete." Although Carter's report for OTA concluded that the prospect of a perfect defense "is so remote that it should not serve as the basis of public expectation or national policy," he does not consider himself an arms control partisan or Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) opponent. "I told the story as accurately and unemotionally as I could," Carter says, a typical characterization of his view of the scientist's role in the defense policymaking process.

Star Wars poses ethical dilemmas for scientists today in much the same way that the

hydrogen bomb debate of the early 1950s did. Both raise two questions: "What is the role of the technical expert in the realm of public policy? And is scientific study simply a search for truth or must the conscientious scientist weigh the social and political consequences of "pure" research?"

For Carter, the answer does not have to do with one's position on Star Wars. He argues that it is entirely possible to work in the SDI program without making a Faustian deal. In Carter's view, a scientist can play one of three roles within the program: work on a project that has elements applicable to other missions; work on a project that can't live up to the claims being made for it; or be a "cheerleader" for it.

Carter rejects the charge that a scientist who works on the program has sold-out. "Parts of SDI research are applicable to other missions," Carter argues, "and some of that is appropriate work. If a project gets swept up by SDI, I can't condemn the scientist for continuing the work."

However, scientists who work on a project knowing it cannot live up to its billing deserve criticism. "Technical experts should take a Hippocratic oath," Carter says, and refrain from working on projects they know cannot live up to the claims made for them.

Carter himself worked at the Pentagon's systems analysis branch in 1981 and 1982 where he was responsible for space issues as well as ballistic missile defense. But he left before President Reagan's March 23, 1983 Star Wars speech. Carter says the early claims for SDI were simply "not com-

patible with my view of the program."

Worse still are the program's scientific cheerleaders, Carter believes. Although Carter says he "accepts their sincerity," he adds that he tries not to doubt anyone's sincerity. The problem with the cheerleaders is "their claims for SDI are so extravagant that the net effect is only harmful."

Many of these zealous supporters have criticized last year's American Physical Society report, which has been hailed as the most objective and comprehensive analysis of the prospects for exotic, space-based missile defenses. Carter says this attack on the APS report is "politically motivated."

Still, Carter's effort to remain evenhanded in his criticism is striking. His conclusions about the deficiencies of the Star Wars program have been praised by many who read only the last paragraph of his studies. As a scientist, he tried to evaluate Star Wars without considering his work's political impact. And while he has been critical of the program and the scientists who make exaggerated claims on its behalf, he does not think of himself as an arms control advocate.

For example, Carter accuses some Star Wars opponents of being "naively and viscerally" opposed to the program. And he says that "arms control is not an important part of my thinking. Instead, we should think of self-control. Arms control is a fallback for exercising self-control. But we should first learn to manage ourselves well."

For Carter, Star Wars is not so much an arms control issue as it is a matter of common sense. "Why spend important defense dollars on a wasteful project?" Eventually, Carter predicts, the various military services will come to this conclusion, as Star Wars eats away at their budgets.

Carter still maintains that a perfect or near-perfect defense is not on the horizon. And he says that "there is nothing about the program that I know now that I did not know then. My thinking about [the program's effectiveness] has not changed."

How does Carter explain the fact that many scientists still think SDI might work? While technically competent, Carter thinks SDI's cheerleaders have no practical military sense. "They live in a 'view-graph land,'" Carter concludes, where they are far removed from "real-world standards." "View-graph land," where overhead projectors are used to brief people on arcane subjects, is the modern-day equivalent of the medieval monastery, a subject about which Carter is quite familiar. □

Bruce Auster is a freelance journalist living in Washington, D.C.

David Albright, senior staff scientist for the Federation of American Scientists, SIS would refine 5 to 8 metric tons of plutonium by the year 2003 if the plant were in operation by 1995. By comparison, 15 tons would be available from warheads retired under the strategic arms reduction treaty, which calls for 50 percent cuts in long-range missiles. Another 1.5 tons could come from retiring 500 intermediate missiles. There is also an estimated 10 tons in scrap, 5 to 10 tons in the production pipeline, and 80 tons stockpiled in weapons.

Because information in the Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Memorandum is classified, no open debate on these figures was possible at the hearings.

THE IDAHO SIS DEBATE HAS ECHOED through the halls of Congress, prompting the lawmakers to take a harder look at the project's funding and feasibility.

Just last year SIS was on the fast track. After overcoming opposition from James Miller at the Office of Management and Budget, the Reagan administration requested \$40 million for the project. Congress, led by the two Republican senators from Idaho, James McClure and Steven

Symms, doubled the allocation to \$96 million. In anticipation, the Energy Department went ahead late last year and awarded the SIS design contract to the Bechtel corporation, which will share it with the main contractor, Westinghouse Idaho Nuclear.

Enter the Snake River Alliance to turn a relatively unknown item in the Energy Department budget into a cause célèbre. "Our goal during the hearings was to bring SIS to the attention of the people, politicians and press of Idaho," says Liz Paul. "Our aim in Washington was to make Congress sit up and take note of SIS. In both cases we got far more than we expected."

Now Congress is backpeddling. One congressman, Democratic Rep. Albert Bustamante of Texas, called the SIS a "billion dollar pork barrel project" and tried unsuccessfully to strike SIS from the budget. He did, however, push Congress to require a series of reports on funding and testing.

Observers point out if congressional debates on funding and test requirements slow the project down, a strategic arms reduction treaty may kill the project. And if Reagan cannot wrap up a treaty, the new presidential administration could drop SIS funding.

SIS has also run into some technical obstacles. Specifically, the SIS laser system is

still at an experimental stage and is scheduled for integrated testing until 1991 at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California.

The final decision on SIS will have impact that goes far beyond Idaho. By December, the Energy Department is scheduled to release a report outlining the future of the U.S. weapons production program. The plan reportedly favors the separation of production functions into different industrial "parks"—one for plutonium, one for tritium, and one for uranium—Illinois, Idaho and South Carolina are potential sites. The SIS decision will set the stage for a political fight over the new plants.

The Energy Department is scheduled to release its final environmental impact statement on SIS in July. No one can predict the outcome, but the significance of the debate for weapons production is clear on both sides. Liz Paul says it is a "litmus test for future arms production. And Steven Symms, the project's staunchest supporter, has candidly observed, "If it can't be built here, it can't be built anywhere."

Scott Ridley is a Washington, D.C.-based writer and policy analyst. A research grant for this article was provided by the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

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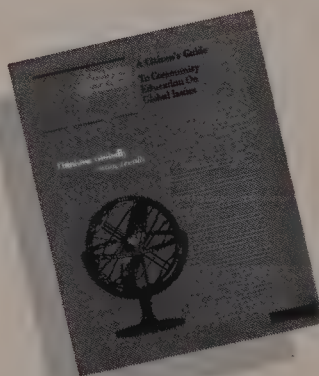
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TO END THE COLD WAR

JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TEAM
PROPOSES BOLD STEPS TOWARD MUTUAL SURVIVAL

reads almost like a peace activist's dream foreign policy platform. Resolved, the United States and the Soviet Union should:

and the Cold War and build in its place a relationship of stable coexistence.

Dramatically reduce conventional and nuclear forces to levels of "reasonable sufficiency," eliminating first-strike weapons.

Halt all testing of nuclear weapons, ban chemical weapons and destroy all existing chemical stockpiles.

Cease all military intervention in regional conflicts, including support of so-called "national liberation" movements or "freedom fighter" proxies.

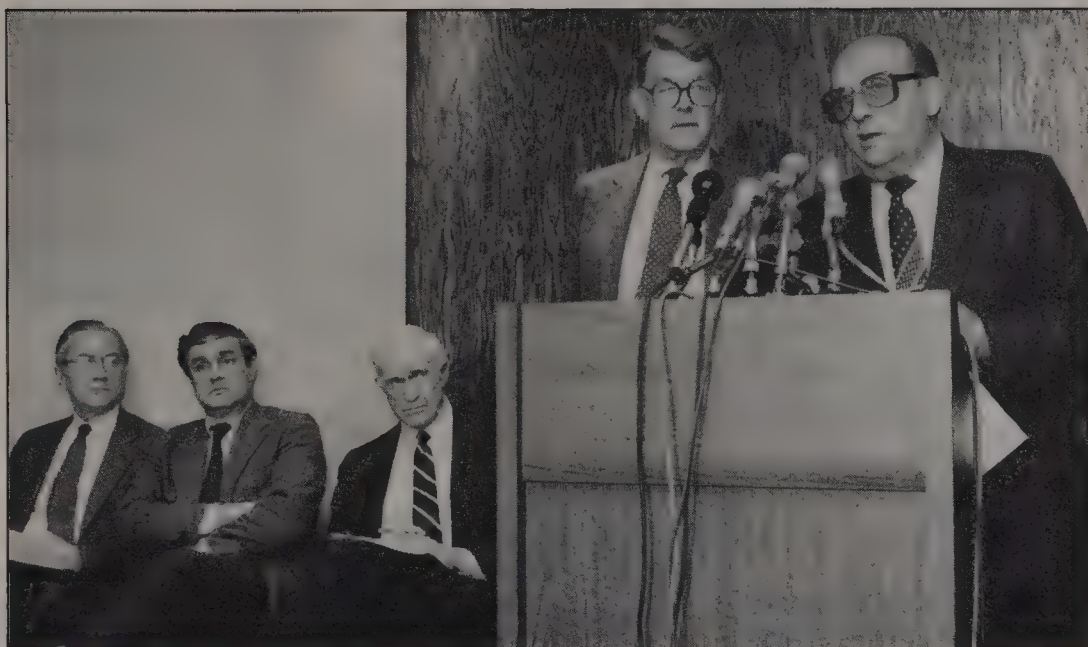
Actively work to strengthen the United Nations and other international organizations and agree to solve international disputes through them.

This list of proposals is not the work of Randall Forsberg or Richard Barnet, however, but of a panel of mainstream U.S. and Soviet foreign policy experts, including former CIA Director William Colby and members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. At a May 5 press conference in Washington, D.C., the group released the results of their recently completed Project to End the Cold War. Their report represents an unprecedented binational effort to reach mutually acceptable recommendations for joint U.S.-Soviet action toward common security.

led by former CIA and State Department official Arthur Macy Cox and Georgi Arbatov, head of the U.S.A.-Canada Institute and a Soviet Communist Party Central Committee member, the group conferred and on for four years before releasing their joint report, "Requirements for Stable Coexistence in U.S.-Soviet Relations." Their conclusion—that the superpowers must "demilitarize" their competition—is based on "a recognition of our interdependence," according to Cox. "In order to survive, we're going to have to change our ways of competing with each other."

The central tenets of the report are that nuclear weapons have rendered traditional concepts of warfare... obsolete and that the costs of conventional military competition have become unsustainable.

"It's entirely too expensive to continue



From left: William Colby, American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations President William Miller, Townsend Hoopes, Arthur Macy Cox and Georgi Arbatov.

[the Cold War]," said Cox, "Both superpowers have been progressively harmed by expenditures on arms."

The group's recommendations entail far-reaching proposals that peace activists could readily endorse: drastic cuts in nuclear and conventional forces, adoption of "defensive defense" and a new commitment to conflict resolution through international organizations.

On nuclear arms, the report proposes that first-strike weapons be eliminated and that strategic offensive weapons be cut by 50 percent, followed by "progressive reductions" of nuclear arsenals.

On conventional forces, the two countries "should work toward substantial reductions and modifications" that will "eliminate present imbalances through asymmetrical reductions rather than compensating buildups [and] restructure forces on both sides to emphasize defensive capabilities and eliminate the threat of surprise attack."

It sounds like textbook alternative defense rather than the thinking of representatives of the superpower foreign policy establishments. But even more startling is the group's recommendation that both countries swear off military intervention—a proposal the report itself acknowledges as radical.

"This constitutes a demanding new standard of conduct, a dramatic shift in operational philosophy... based on the clear mutual understanding that war is no longer an acceptable means of pursuing political goals."

The idea is by no means a new one. Peace activists have long opposed intervention, both on moral grounds and out of concern about the possibility of regional conflicts escalating into nuclear war. Randall Forsberg, of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, has argued that superpower agreement on a "nonintervention regime" vis-a-vis the Third World and Europe is a requisite first step toward adoption of alternative defense vis-a-vis one another.

But coming from a group that includes such self-described former cold warriors as Colby and Cox, as well as current high-level Soviet foreign policy advisers, such a proposal is remarkable. It would require the Soviets to abandon a 25-year policy of supporting national liberation struggles and the United States to refrain from using military forces to "contain" or "roll back" communism, even in its own "back yard."

"No more Afghanistans, no more Vietnams. That is in essence what the project reflects," said Cox. Moreover, no more Czechoslovakias, Angolas, Grenadas or

Nicaraguas—all of which the report specifies as unacceptable.

How did the two groups agree on such far-reaching policy changes? Out of moral vision, perhaps, but also out of a perception of economic and political necessity.

"Neither we nor you can afford such military competition," said Georgi Arbatov, head of the Soviet delegation, during the press conference. "If we continue, the U.S.S.R. will become a developing country and the U.S. will become a semi-colony, colonized by Japan and maybe even South Korea."

Cox, who worked for the CIA in the 1950s and acknowledges that he shared the prevailing Cold War views, says that his own attitude has changed as he has observed changes in the Soviet Union. "I respond to realities," said Cox. "At its inception, the Cold War started with Stalin and our knowledge of the Gulags. [But] when Khrushchev condemned Stalin, that started a slow process of change." The Gorbachev era, he believes, presents a historic opportunity to build a new relationship that will help ensure mutual prosperity and peace.

But what *are* the prospects that such dramatic changes in superpower policies will be adopted? The proponents are not lacking in credentials. Besides Cox and Colby, the U.S. group, the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations, includes former Undersecretary of State George Ball, former Sen. John Culver, and Townsend Hoopes, a former Undersecretary of the Air Force. The Soviet team—drawn mostly from the prestigious U.S.A.-Canada Institute in Moscow—includes Arbatov and Valentin Falin, both members of the Communist Party Central Committee, and Vitaly Zhurkin and Andrei Kortunov, noted foreign policy experts.

In their presentation, the Soviets acknowledged that their report enjoys the support of their government—though Arbatov denied that he had had to "clear" the conclusions with anyone higher up. What is noteworthy, Arbatov said, is that when the project began in 1984, these proposals would not yet have received support. Today, he maintained, they correspond in large measure to Gorbachev's own thinking.

The Americans, on the other hand, can hardly boast of similar government support, either directly or in spirit. The Reagan administration, despite recent progress in arms control, spent most of its early years fueling the Cold War. And its actions in Grenada, Nicaragua and Libya have displayed an acceptance of military intervention as entirely legitimate means of furthering U.S. interests. The widely cited report

of the Iklé-Wohlstetter Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, moreover, cites the Third World as the likely source of most future U.S. foreign policy challenges and recommends a stepped-up commitment to "cooperative forces"—the proxy armies that Cox and company renounce.

A further obstacle to implementing the group's proposals may be the still-traditional views of the Soviet military (see "Are the Soviets Really Serious?" Nuclear Times, May/June 1988). This was hinted at in the group's own May 5 presentation. Arbatov, when asked by a reporter if he was willing to acknowledge that Cuban forces in Angola were "proxies," denied they were, voicing what appears to remain the official Soviet position: that Cuba had sent forces entirely on its own.

Cox observed afterwards: "They are sensitive about saying things that are critical about the Cubans," adding that Arbatov and his team had nevertheless agreed to the joint report's characterization of Angola as the type of superpower intervention that must be banned.

In general, Cox and his colleagues believe the outlook for their recommendations is bright. Media interest has been substantial, and the group has received some

warm support from Congress, including endorsement from Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.). Cox plans to brief both Republican and Democratic presidential candidates after the national conventions.

Vitaly Zhurkin, director of the newly created Soviet Institute for Europe and an expert on conventional forces, said at the press conference that implementing the group's proposals will require further dialogue and will no doubt take time. "The first stages [of implementation] will perhaps be very dramatic."

For Arbatov, the fact that high-level foreign policy experts from both superpowers have reached agreement on such far-reaching issues is encouragement enough: "Now we can speak generally the same language."

Most compelling, perhaps, is what the group perceives as a growing popular resistance to continued superpower hostility. "We sense a deep mutual frustration in both societies over the sterilities of the Cold War," says the report, "and a new determination to break out of that rigid framework, to cut through propaganda and candidly address the realities of our era, with the aim of achieving what both sides need—a relationship of stable coexistence."

A/S FORUM/ROBERT JOHANSEN

FOR A STRONGER U.N.

MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IS THE KEY TO OPEN THE DOORS FOR ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE

Many U.S. officials and political pundits are beginning to acknowledge, at least in rhetoric, what might be called the first principle of alternative security: that the United States cannot increase its security at the expense of its adversaries' security. Ignoring this principle, by building more threatening weapons for example, only prompts Moscow to deploy more dangerous weapons against the United States, encourages non-nuclear countries to reject nonproliferation efforts and stimulates Washington's rivals to counter U.S. military influence wherever they can. Yet despite rhetorical acceptance of this first principle, the Reagan administration and Congress have not shown interest in limiting the U.S. arsenal to non-threatening weapons. Why?

The answer lies not in any difficulty of finding the right formula for a non-offensive defense. The real problem is that the United States and other governments have not *wanted* to limit themselves to defen-

sive weapons. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations built weapons such as the MX and Trident D-5 even though they increased the threat to the Soviet Union and did nothing to reduce the vulnerability of U.S. defenses. Similarly, the United States maintains offensive conventional capabilities in every corner of the world, even where its adversaries are incapable of mounting an attack on the United States.

Most countries claim that their military forces are defensive. U.S. officials, for example, say that U.S. strategic nuclear forces and interventionist conventional capabilities are aimed at defending against the Soviet Union and other adversaries.

But this self-justifying approach to unilateral use of violence is becoming increasingly impractical. If Washington can unilaterally decide that the use of force in Vietnam and Central America is justified, Moscow can likewise unilaterally decide that force can be used in Afghanistan and Eastern Europe, and Havana can claim



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glasnost, the fiscal crunch, INF, elections, and a host of other converging factors are dramatically altering the political landscape, generating a new debate on national priorities and security. A new wave of peace movement activity to advance a foreign policy of common security is needed to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 1990s. The National Working Session is aimed at helping the movement seize this opportunity.

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right to support insurgencies in the Caribbean. Iraq unilaterally decided to attack tankers belonging to Iran and other countries. Iran then decided to respond by mining the Persian Gulf and attacking those who have helped Iraq continue the war.

These self-justifying judgments about the use of force are what now obstruct efforts to limit armed forces to self-defense. But there is a way to counter them: through the collective views of many governments. Multilateral diplomacy provides the only available procedure for reinforcing norms against the unilateral use of force. Through successful peacemaking and peacekeeping, multilateralism can reduce the major powers' reliance on force.

The United Nations represents the clearest model and yet a disappointing embodiment of multilateralism: its 159 member nations agree in principle to the Charter ban on aggressive uses of force, but it has fallen far short of its potential for limiting violence. There are two areas, however—peacekeeping and global monitoring—where increased multilateral action under U.N. auspices could enhance U.S. and worldwide security. A more serious commitment by the peace movement to promoting these activities could help open a path toward non-offensive defense.

Peacekeeping. Ad hoc U.N. peacekeeping forces have succeeded in dampening conflicts in a half-dozen historical cases. In Cyprus in the early 1960s, U.N. forces helped contain conflict between Greeks and Turks. U.N. forces interposed themselves between Egyptian and Israeli forces after the 1956 Suez conflict and in the 1970s after the Yom Kippur War. They quieted a brief civil war in Lebanon in 1958 and tried again in the late 1970s, with less success.

These experiences have demonstrated the promise of U.N. peacekeeping. But they also illustrate the institutional weaknesses that hamper its effectiveness. There are a few basic changes, however, that could correct those weaknesses.

First, the United Nations needs a permanent transnational police force, so that it could, in times of crisis, immediately deploy a highly trained, integrated force. Second, U.N. peacekeepers should be individually recruited from among volunteers throughout the world, rather than being drawn from member countries' armed forces. These changes would give U.N. peacekeepers an even stronger reputation for reliability and political impartiality, which in turn would make countries more willing to rely upon U.N. peacekeepers rather than resort to unilateral force.

Third, the U.N. secretary general should

be given advance authority to deploy peacekeeping forces at any time he or she determines they are needed. Currently, the Security Council delays the deployment of such forces when its members fail to come to agreement.

To overcome this problem, Washington should invite Moscow and other members of the Security Council to agree in advance, on an informal and experimental basis, not to use their veto power to obstruct enforcement undertaken by the secretary general along tense borders and within carefully prescribed guidelines. To prevent injudicious use of these forces, the Council could retain the power to terminate a deployment by a simple majority vote.

A well-trained peacekeeping force bearing the authority of the United Nations could prevent border incidents from erupting into war, discourage superpower interventions and deter aggression by adventurist smaller powers. Such a force might have prevented the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict, Iraq's invasion of Iran, Syrian and Israeli attacks on the Palestinian Liberation Organization within Lebanon and attacks on Israel from Lebanon, violations of the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, and clandestine troop movements between Libya and Chad, Libya and the Sudan, and South Africa and Angola.

A successful standing U.N. force, enjoying the legitimacy of the world community, would develop a reputation for greater effectiveness than the armed forces of small countries acting on their own or even backed by an external military power. This in turn would stimulate a powerful new idea: that U.N.-protected countries are a realistic possibility. Rather than maintaining a full-scale national military force with offensive capabilities, countries could avail themselves of U.N. protection. This would pave the way for regional or global arrangements strictly limiting national forces to non-offensive defense.

Global Monitoring. An international monitoring agency, utilizing on-site U.N. inspectors and advanced seismic and surveillance technology, could further enhance U.N. peacekeeping capabilities. Such an agency would warn of and help deter surprise attacks, collect evidence to confirm or deny alleged border violations, monitor cease-fires, assist U.N. peacekeeping missions and observer patrols, discourage clandestine tests of missiles or warheads, hamper covert operations aimed at manipulating political events in small countries and reinforce confidence-building measures anywhere in the world.

An international agency, working independently from national intelligence agen-

cies in Washington, Moscow and elsewhere, would draw on less partial information to evaluate conflicting claims about violations of arms control treaties and U.N. Charter prohibitions against the use of force.

Domestically, an international monitoring agency could provide a check on the abuse of intelligence reports for purely political purposes. Additional source information could deter violations of international law or Congressional intent, such as apparently occurred in the Reagan administration's funding of the Nicaraguan contra. For Congress, U.N.-provided data would also help corroborate or disprove allegations by Washington or Moscow about violations of arms treaties.

Building support. Multilateralism is often scoffed at by U.S. officials, especially when it involves partnerships within their own military bloc. The early Reagan administration portrayed the United Nations as either impotent or anti-American. The prevailing popular view still sees a beleaguered United States victimized by hostile Third World countries and the Soviet Union voting in concert against U.S. interests.

But the Reagan administration itself has recently softened its assault on the United Nations, requesting funding for U.N. operations from a by-now reluctant Congress. Outside the United States, support has grown among many Third World countries and middle-range powers for expanded U.N. peacemaking and peacekeeping. More than 120 countries have indicated support for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency. And although there have been no specific proposals for a standing U.N. force, there is growing support for the idea of using multilateral forces in situations such as the Persian Gulf, the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and any future Palestinian-Israeli settlement.

There is another positive sign: the Soviet Union, which for years viewed the United Nations with deep skepticism, has under Mikhail Gorbachev renewed its financial commitment to the organization and expressed an interest in U.N.-sponsored monitoring and peacekeeping.

Yet many countries look to the United States for leadership on global issues, and it is here that the peace movement must make its case for a stronger United Nations. A post-Reagan administration—Democratic or Republican—will present a fresh opportunity to do just that.

Robert Johansen is a senior fellow at the Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame and a contributing editor to World Policy Journal.

Making of the Atomic Bomb by Richard Rhodes (\$12.95, 886 pages, Simon and Schuster, 1988). In their race to create a weapon that would end World War II, many U.S. scientists envisioned two radically different outcomes to their project: destruction of the world and the establishment of world peace.

Richard Rhodes places this paradox at the heart of his monumental history of the making of the atom bomb. The simultaneous war-making and peace-making capability of the bomb was, to use Rhodes' favorite metaphor, its "complementarity"—a term used by Niels Bohr to describe the simultaneous truth of two different atomic models.

The tragedy of *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* is the inability of scientists to translate this delicate notion of complementarity into the political realm. The atom bomb never led to world government or world peace as Bohr, Leo Szilard and others had hoped; the U.S. government and the scientists' remarkable scientific insights but assiduously avoided their often equally remarkable political ones. The Atomic Age never transcended the violence it inaugurated it.

In complementarity, Bohr found logic and hope. By choosing Bohr as the central figure of his book, Rhodes provides an overly optimistic appraisal of the ethical and political foresight of scientists. How do Edward Teller's subsequent ravings and researchers' enthusiasm for the hydrogen bomb, Star Wars and other exotica square with Rhodes' optimistic view of science? Perhaps treatment of this question will find its way into a sequel. —John Feffer

The Russian Challenge and the Year 2000 by Alexander Yanov (\$24.95, 302 pages, Basil Blackwell, 1987). Many religious and authoritarian groups figure prominently in the history of Russian and Soviet dissent. Closely allied with Russian Orthodox Christianity—rabidly nationalistic, fiercely anti-Semitic, anti-Western and anti-modern—these groups have rattled Soviet officials. Many of their members have been imprisoned, others forced to emigrate. Despite this, reactionary Slavophiles continue to exert a significant influence on contem-

porary Soviet culture and society.

In *The Russian Challenge*, Yanov argues persuasively that Russian archconservatives are strong enough to endanger Mikhail Gorbachev's recent flurry of Western-leaning reforms. Although he does not address the latest version of Russian conservatism to be reported on in Western media—the group calling itself Pamyat ("memory")—Yanov discusses its precursors, from Young Guardism to Solzhenitsyn.

Perhaps Yanov overstates the danger when he compares these insurgent authoritarians to the Bolsheviks, who were small in number in 1905 but took power 12 years later. Nevertheless, these authoritarians have accumulated a host of anti-Soviet sympathizers in the West, and with such support, Yanov cautions, the rise of a new Soviet theocracy is a frightening possibility. —J.F.

A Military Dollar Really Is Different: The Economic Impacts of Military Spending Reconsidered by Michael Dee Oden (free, 52 pages, Employment Research Associates, 115 West Allegan St., Suite 810, Lansing, MI 48933, 1988). Does military spending adversely affect the U.S. economy? This question has divided economists into three distinct groups: those who consider large military expenditures productive, those who consider them counterproductive and those who can't make up their minds.

In *A Military Dollar*, Michael Oden targets the fence-straddlers, particularly Gordon Adams and David Gold at the Council on Budget and Policy Priorities, who have recently argued that the impact of military spending is unclear ("Guns or Butter," *Nuclear Times*, Nov./Dec., 1987). Against this view, Oden concludes that the Reagan military build-up has demonstrably hurt the U.S. economy in some areas.

Although conceding the inconclusive effects of defense spending on inflation, productivity and GNP growth, Oden argues that defense budget increases have had a negative impact on employment, investment and industrial development. Despite his support of burden-sharing, this report is an excellent rebuttal of the neutralists. —J.F.

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As the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians escalated this winter in the occupied territories, AFSC's staff was figuring out how to continue a preschool education project serving 13 refugee camps in the Gaza strip. Eventually, teachers had to go to children's homes rather than hold class at the schools.

In Jerusalem, the case load of AFSC's Legal Aid Center grew sharply, as requests poured in from Palestinians for help in protecting their legal rights. Activist Israelis also appealed to us for help in their trials of conscience: what are appropriate ways to resist their government's harsh measures in order to preserve their own country?

AFSC's work in the Middle East, which dates back to 1948, is based on the Quaker belief that there is that of God in every person. Experience has served to reconfirm that belief and has given AFSC important insights into ways of bridging the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. What have we learned?

■ Peace is made between enemies: Negotiations and treaties between already allied nations will not advance the cause of peace. Israelis and Palestinians must talk

with each other on the basis of equality. A few leaders and constituencies in both communities have been doing so.

■ Peace is possible: Consensus is developing between those Israelis and Palestinians who have been talking with each other for years. They define the problem of peace as national claims of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to the same land. Upon that soil, Israel has built a sovereign state and Palestinians aspire to build one—each seeking secure, recognized boundaries.

■ The basis for resolution exists: An international consensus on the principles and means for a just and durable peace is emerging. Its components are: self-determination for Palestinians and Israelis in two states living alongside each other; mutual recognition; a peace-for-land formula built on U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, yielding normal diplomatic, trade and cultural relations among all parties to the conflict; an international peace conference including Israel, the Palestinians and their chosen representative the Palestinian Liberation Organization, as well as Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

■ The United States has a role: AFSC's recent study, *Missed Opportunities for Peace*, by Ronald Young, points out many

occasions when the United States could have played a constructive role toward peace. In the current crisis, the U.S. government could help construct a framework for peace to resolve a long-standing and debilitating confrontation.

What can you do? A negotiated peace is possible, but the principles and process need public support. Inform yourself and your groups. You might start with the book, *A Compassionate Peace: A Framework for the Middle East*.

For more information contact any of our nine regional offices or: Middle East Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7019.

PSR

Hiroshima Day and the LTBT's 25th Anniversary

Physicians around the country will mark two important anniversaries August 5 and 6: Hiroshima Day and the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT). Both events are linked to the history and continuing mission of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

The horror of Hiroshima provided graphic evidence of the medical consequences of nuclear war. Physicians who presented that evidence to the world have helped to stigmatize nuclear weapons, keeping alive the hope that they would never again be used. On Hiroshima Day, August 6, PSR chapters around the country will take part in memorial lantern float ceremonies and other events. Many members will work a day for peace, donating their day's salary to PSR to counter the 31 days wages taken in taxes that pay for military procurement.

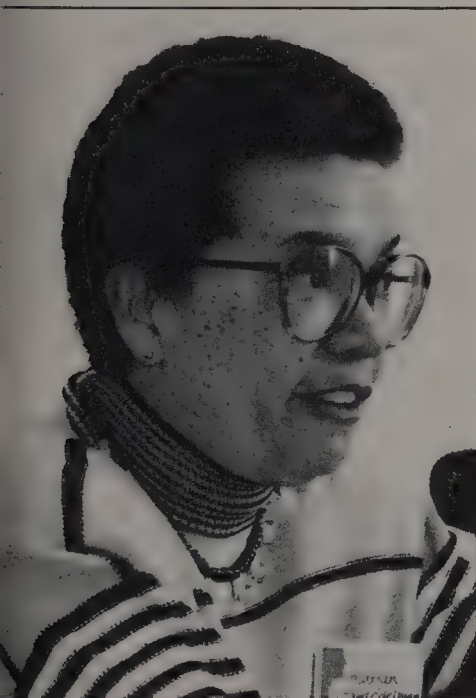
The LTBT anniversary, August 5, will be a reminder of the perils and promise of the nuclear age. On June 10, 1963, President Kennedy announced a moratorium on nuclear testing and his intention to pursue a comprehensive test ban with the Soviet Union. Within two months, on August 5, he signed the LTBT with Premier Khrushchev, showing the world how quickly change can be brought about with sufficient political will. Unfortunately, in the ensuing 25 years

ear tests have been driven under-
nd, the arms race has escalated, and
superpowers have moved no closer to a
prehensive test ban.

Throughout this summer, PSR physi-
s will work to keep the call for a test
alive under this administration and to
e it high on the agenda of the next. The
paign, called Cease-Fire '88, involves
national Physicians for the Prevention
Nuclear War affiliates around the
d. Throughout the year they will send
est letters and telegrams to U.S. and
et officials every time a nuclear test is
ducted. U.S. members of PSR will ask
t, state and national medical associa-
s to endorse resolutions supporting a
prehensive test ban and will present
resolutions to the presidential candi-
s on the LTBT anniversary. The goal is
ake the test ban a reality 25 years after
icians and a popular U.S. president first
olished it as an urgent step toward the
mination of nuclear weapons.

PSR is also undertaking a larger cam-
n to redirect the way Americans think
at national security, showing the costs
ne arms race and the lost opportunities
pply our tax dollars, medical and scien-
resources and problem-solving skills to
a issues as homelessness, AIDS, educa-
g, drugs, child care and the environment.
Children's Defense Fund President Mar-
Wright Edelman told PSR at its na-
l meeting in March, "This is the year
n we've really got to talk about who
are as a people and what direction our
on is going to take."

For more information contact PSR,
1 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington,
20009, (202) 939-5750.



Marian Wright Edelman, of the Children's De-
fense Fund, at PSR's 1988 annual meeting.

ESR

Educators Meet for Boston Conference

More than 200 teachers and administrators from New England, New York and Oregon gathered in Boston on April 7 for "Promising Practices in Teaching for Social Responsibility," a conference co-sponsored by Boston/ESR and the Educating for Living in the Nuclear Age Project (ELNA). Participants praised the day-long conference as ESR's most successful and professional event.

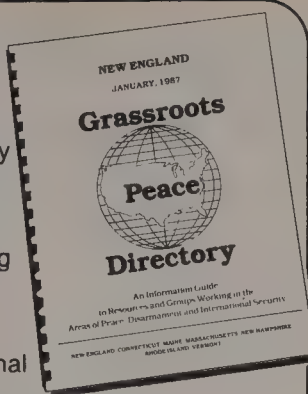
The day began with a welcome by Massachusetts Commissioner of Education Harold Raynolds, a member of ESR's national advisory board, and a keynote address by Sam Keen, author of *Faces of the Enemy*. The conference featured a full schedule of panels and workshops led by area educators active in nuclear-age curriculum development. Social studies teachers shared methods of introducing Soviet culture to elementary school children; a math teacher focused on understanding numbers and statistics in the context of the political process. Other sessions discussed "democratic classrooms," the influence of war toys on children's play, conflict mediation skills and the integration of global issues into elementary and secondary curricula. Work presented at the conference is expected to be documented in a forthcoming book, *Promising Practices in Educating for Living in a Nuclear Age*.

The conference was an important stepping stone for the ELNA project. Currently in its third year with 12 school districts in Massachusetts, ELNA is a national demonstration project now embraced by school districts in New York City and Oregon. In collaboration with ESR, educators in these districts are developing teaching materials on conflict resolution, cooperation, democratic participation skills, global awareness and controversial issues as avenues for developing a sense of responsibility in young people.

ELNA project teachers maintain a significant leadership role and are encouraged to collaborate with others and design curricula that meet their individual needs. According to Shelley Berman, ELNA project director, "The conference speaks to the kind of creativity that emerges when teachers have the opportunity to think and work on a problem and when they know that their work will make a significant contribution to education and to the world."

For information contact Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1764.

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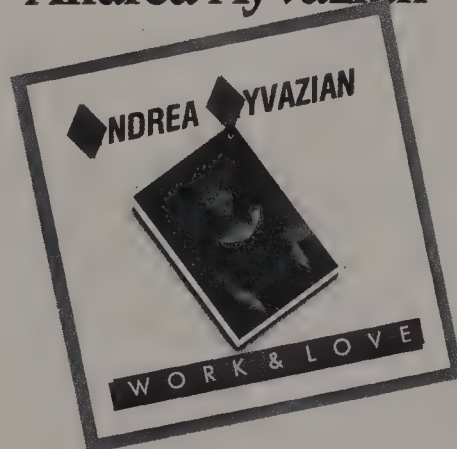
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SANE/FREEZE

Three from the Grassroots

My earliest recollection of the term "grassroots" is from the time I wore orange and blue striped bellbottom pants and a hand-tooled leather belt with a bronze peace-sign buckle. I was organizing GI's at Fort Benjamin Harrison and writing for the underground *Indianapolis Free Press* when, in 1970, the *Press* changed its name to

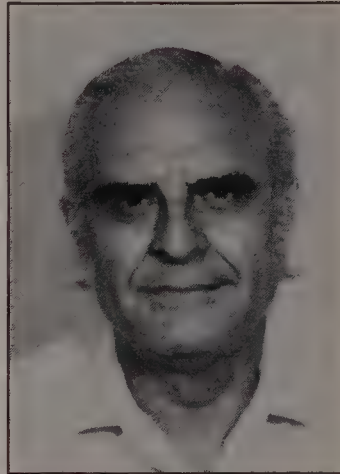
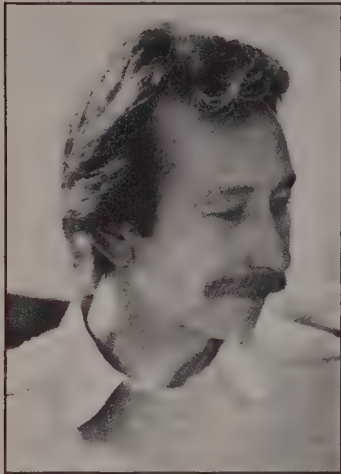
he says, "The religious and church element made up of the working class and middle class people were involved." He founded the Austin Peace and Justice Center, eventually drawing 35 Texas groups into its network. Later he helped start the Red River Peace Network, which drew together activists from Texas, Oklahoma and New Mexico to challenge the Pantex nuclear weapons plant in Amarillo.

Now Gardner is building the Texas SANE/FREEZE affiliate, an organization

remains active at the town and state level. "I believe very strongly," she says, "that to foster social change, you have to give voice to the people Otherwise, you have no touch with what is really happening in the districts."

—Robert A. Musil

Musil is SANE/FREEZE's director of communications and education. For information on how local and state groups can affiliate, contact: SANE/FREEZE, 1100 G Street, Washington, DC 20003, 546-7100.



SANE/FREEZE's new co-chairs: Don Gardner, Elizabeth Campbell Elliott and Bert Corona.

Grassroots. It was, as I recall, a sort of pun, redolent with the smell of earth and ecology—as well as marijuana.

Like fashions, the meaning and importance of the grassroots has changed. Since the mid-1970s, reforms brought on by Vietnam War activism and Watergate have diffused power in Washington. Where once a lobbyist could wine and dine key committee chairmen and legislation would move, now a serious lobby has to target far more members of Congress, as well as the media, and—unless pure megabucks are at play—it must build support among constituents back home. Corporations use direct mail, paid media, and contacts at the local, state and national levels. In the peace movement, where money is always tight, organizing is the key—at every level beyond the beltway.

So as one of its first post-merger moves, SANE/FREEZE elected three new co-chairs with extensive experience at the grassroots, to guide its board of directors.

Don Gardner, who lives on a ranch outside Austin, Texas, describes himself as "grassroots as dirt." A scrappy kid from "a small backwoods town in Texas with violently reactionary traditions," Gardner eventually became a reporter for *The Houston Post* and went on to found Pacifica station KPFT-FM in the late 1960s.

In the 1970s, the Freeze campaign caught Gardner's attention. "I saw something happening that wasn't happening in the '60s,"

that will grow in importance as the state's congressional delegation grows from 27 to 33 in 1990.

Similarly, SANE/FREEZE co-chair Bert Corona is heavily involved in organizing one of the fastest growing segments of the United States, the Hispanic community in California. As head of the Mexican and Hispanic Brotherhood, an immigrant advocacy group, Corona has been instrumental in bringing 2,000 to 3,000 Spanish-speaking members into SANE/FREEZE. He has brought to national conferences delegations of up to 50 Hispanic workers, who are heavily represented in aerospace plants in Southern California. Now as a key figure in the Third World Task Force, Corona is making sure that SANE/FREEZE's peace strategy is planned in ways that build support in Black, Hispanic, Asian- and Native-American communities.

Elizabeth Campbell Elliott completes SANE/FREEZE's trio of co-chairs. A writer, editor, and media specialist turned community organizer, Elliott began work with the Freeze campaign in Watertown. She helped form the 8th Congressional District Nuclear Freeze Committee because, she says, "even in Massachusetts activists in, say, Waltham didn't know what was happening in Watertown. I wanted us to be able to effectively lobby Tip O'Neill."

Former coordinator for MASS Freeze, Elliott has been active in electoral and media work. Now as national co-chair she still

WAND

Election Action

From delegate selection to campaigning candidates to voter education, WAND members across the country are using election-year activities to empower citizens—especially women—to participate in the political process and help elect candidates who are committed to reversing the nuclear arms race.

In Eugene, Oregon, Lane County WAND members are backing a resolution to preserve the city's status as a nuclear-free zone. The group is also supporting the election bid of 4th District Rep. Pat DeFazio (D), who WAND member Vicki Koch says has an "excellent track record."

In Oregon's 5th District, Salem WAND members are supporting Mike Kopetski (D), a state legislator, against Republican incumbent Denny Smith. WAND member Carol Schaafsma says Kopetski has "a realistic chance" of ousting Smith, whose arms-control record she says is "dismal."

In Southern California, WAND members are working for Democratic Lt. Governor Leo McCarthy in his bid for the Senate. WAND Los Angeles' weekly radio show *Nuclear Connection*, has featured McCarthy as a guest, giving him a statewide forum to express his views on peace issues.

In Texas, Dallas WAND sent a peace caucus to the mid-June state Democratic Convention, where the group presented peace resolutions passed earlier at precinct- and district-level meetings. Members have also been promoting "alternative security" policies through work on school board elections and the Police Citizens' Review Board. "We're trying to create a peaceful environment," says Dallas WAND Vice President Roger Kallenberg, "and we know there's change afoot."

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, Washtenaw County WAND sponsored a debate between two pro-disarmament candidates for Congress, Dean Baker and state Sen. L. Pollack. "Support for either candidate shows progress toward replacing Carl Pur-

says Co-coordinator Tobi Hanna-Davies, adding that incumbent Purcell's foreign policy record is "very poor." WAND members have voter registration tables every Saturday at the local farmers' market to provide voter education in every way we can," says Hanna-Davies.

Marquett, Michigan, Northern Great Lakes WAND is carefully monitoring Democrat Mitch Erwin's congressional bid against Rep. Bob Davis (R), whose record on disarmament, military spending and women's issues has been poor. The group supported a bid by steering committee member Lucy Smith to become a delegate to the Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis. WAND members from various parts of the country will be delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, July 18 to 21. Among them will be WAND National Board members Peggy Perry, representing Dukakis, and Patricia G. for Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore. Atlanta WAND, along with the Atlanta Alliance for Arms Control, will host a reception for peace delegates, to familiarize members with the platform process and to offer Southern hospitality to convention delegates. "We want to support the delegates as best we can before they return to their respective political machinery,"

says Atlanta WAND Legislative Chair Mary Terrell.

For more information, contact Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-4880.

ADPSR Shelter Show II

From April 20 to May 5, the National Capital Metro Area (NCMA) chapter of ADPSR presented an exhibition of entries from the "Give Them Shelter... It's Not for Everyone" bomb shelter competition, originally sponsored by ADPSR/San Francisco (see "ADPSR/Gimme Shelter," *Nuclear Times*, Sept./Oct. 1987). The satirical design contest was a critical response to the Federal Emergency Management Agency's plan to spend \$1.5 billion to build shelters for protecting state and local elected officials—but not ordinary citizens—from nuclear attack. A complete catalog of the exhibition, *Quonset Huts on the River Styx: The Bomb Shelter Design Book*, is now available.

ADPSR/NCMA also has recently begun the Pro Bono Project, a referral service to help non-profit groups obtain the services

of architects, space planners and graphic designers at or below market cost. Groups that so far have benefited from the program include the Capital Children's Museum; the World Hunger Education Service; Sara's Circle, a community center for elderly Hispanics; and a battered women's shelter. The chapter is promoting the project through professional journals and local media; those interested in donating services are asked to contact ADPSR/NCMA.

Apart from the Pro Bono Project, the Washington chapter has also been advising the International Peace Museum (IPM), a non-profit organization working to establish a museum that features nonviolent solutions to conflict. ADPSR/NCMA helped IPM fight the demolition of a capitol-area landmark building, which IPM hopes to secure for a future museum site. The museum would present exhibitions and performances demonstrating cultural approaches to conflict resolution.

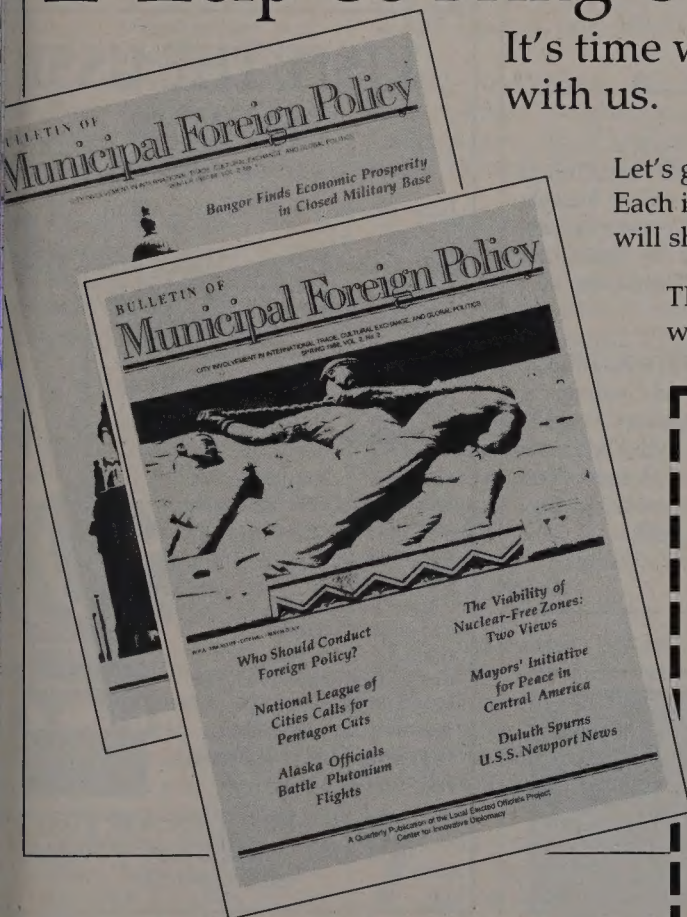
For pro bono service referral or to order Quonset Huts on the River Styx (\$12.95), contact ADPSR/NCMA, 1616 P St. NW, Suite 320, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 547-1079. National ADPSR is at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that educates on legal aspects of nuclear arms policy, and advocates the abolition of nuclear weapons.

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SOUND THE TRUMPET OF JUSTICE. Fellowship of Reconciliation's 1988 National Conference, Atlanta, GA, August 17-21. Speakers include Coretta Scott King, Maurice McCrackin, Anne Braden. Music, workshops, children's activities and more! Register by 7/28. Contact: Fran Levin, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. (914) 358-4601.

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to 7/9, Geneva, Switzerland. The International Training Center on Human Rights and Peace will hold its 6th international training session for primary, secondary and professional school teachers. *Contact:* the Training Center, c/o EIP, 5 Rue de Simplicon, CH-1201 Geneva, Switzerland. Tel (22) 222.

to 7/29, Boston Area Educators for Social Responsibility will be sponsoring three workshops in for teachers. From 7/5 to 7/15, topic will be "Educating for Living in the Nuclear Age." During the following week, "Conflict Resolution" will be addressed. Both are in Boston. From 7/25 to 7/29, a workshop in Lowell, Massachusetts, will focus on "Teaching for Social Responsibility." *Contact:* Boston Area Educators (617) 492-8820.

to 7/16, Washington, D.C. The Center of Concern will host "Alternatives for the Future," a summer institute designed to explore ways of changing political and economic policy in order to foster global interdependence. *Contact:* Center of Concern (202) 635-2757.

to 7/21, Atlanta. Alternative '88 will provide "a neutral forum for alternative ideas and solutions to mainstream problems for a coalition of local and national groups with a commitment to the First Amendment rights." *Contact:* Atlanta '88, 384 Marietta St., Atlanta, GA 30313.

Baltimore. *Peace Child*, a musical celebration of possibilities and friendship will be performed on Pier 6. *Contact:* Sue Snyder (301) 466-2738.

to 7/29, Taos, New Mexico. The sixth annual Global Realities and Education Institute will present seminars for teachers, administrators, staff and students. The institute will focus on interdependence, multiple perspectives and global conflict. *Contact:* George Otero (505) 758-9456.

to 8/14, Simferopol, U.S.S.R. United States students will play soccer in a friendly competition with and against Soviet youths and tour the Soviet Union, celebrating peaceful relations and cooperation between sister nations. *Contact:* Frances Hernandez, P.O. Box 93, San Diego 92108.



The musical *Peace Child* will be performed on Pier 6 in Baltimore on July 20.

August

5 International Test Ban Day. The International Test Ban Campaign will coordinate local, national and international events to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty and to call for a comprehensive test ban treaty. *Contact:* Carolyn Cottom at the ITBC (202) 546-7100.

To 8/6, Nationwide. PSR will hold events commemorating the anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty on 8/5 and the attack on Hiroshima on 8/6. *Contact:* (202) 939-5750.

To 8/7, New Orleans. Pax Christi U.S.A. will hold its national assembly: "New Genesis: World without Violence." *Contact:* (814) 453-4955.

To 8/14, Mississippi River. Soviet and American citizens will travel from St. Louis to New Orleans on a cruise, exploring glasnost and prospects for peace. *Contact:* Promoting Enduring Peace (203) 878-4769.

6 Nevada Test Site. Nevada Desert Experience will host August Desert Witness IV to protest weapons testing and to commemorate the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Contact:* NDE (702) 646-4814.

To 8/9, Nationwide. This will be the 42nd anniversary of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Mobilization for Survival is planning vigils and public education events. *Contact:* MFS (212) 533-0008.

7 Concord, Massachusetts. A Peace Day Celebration will be held on the first Sunday in August with story-telling and songs.

Contact: National Peace Day Celebration (617) 369-3751.

East Lansing, Michigan. Williams International Peace Action Coalition is calling for a rally at Williams International, designer and maker of cruise missile engines. The coalition will provide training in civil resistance on 8/7 in preparation for a sit-in on 8/8. Williams cruise missile engines are scheduled to replace the weapons dismantled under the INF treaty. *Contact:* (517) 337-2833.

Cleveland, Ohio. PSR will hold a Children's Peace Fair. PSR will deliver a peace quilt, made at the fair, to children in Volgograd, U.S.S.R., Cleveland's sister city. *Contact:* PSR (216) 721-2470.

8 to 8/12, Dallas. Peacemakers will hold a global Women's Peace Conference, "From Vision to Reality." *Contact:* Peacemakers, 100 Crescent Ct., Suite 270, Dallas, TX 75201, (214) 871-8448.

12 to 8/21, Deerfield, Massachusetts. The War Resisters League will provide training for organizers, including workshops in conflict resolution, non-violence, public speaking, fundraising and political awareness. *Contact:* WRL (212) 228-0450.

14 to 8/19, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. IPRA will hold its 12th general conference. The theme will be "Peace, Culture and Communication: A Transnational Dialogue." *Contact:* IPRA c/o IUPER, Rue Paulino Fernandes, 32, Cep 22270, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil.

15 to 9/18, Odessa to Kiev, U.S.S.R. International Peace Walk, Inc. is sponsoring its

second Soviet-American Peace Walk. This citizen joint venture will give hundreds of Americans the chance to visit homes, schools, churches and farms in the Soviet Union and to attend international concerts there. The walk will come after the American-Soviet walk from Washington, D.C., to San Francisco in June and July. *Contact:* IPW (202) USA-USSR.

September

5 to 10/5 Nationwide. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are sponsoring a speaking tour, "Together We Can Stop This Train," with Rev. Dr. Buck Jones and Jim Douglass, activist, author and theologian. *Contact:* Gregory Johnson at FOR (202) 882-7155.

7 to 9/20, Geneva. World Association for Orphans & Abandoned Children is coordinating a "Program for Peace and the Destruction of War Toys in All Countries of the World." *Contact:* Dr. Jacques Fisher, 12 rue Calvin, 1204 Geneva, Switzerland (022) 28 59 17.

17 to 10/2. Soviet physicians will visit the United States on a speaking tour as guests of chapters of Physicians for Social Responsibility in East Lansing, Mich.; Milwaukee; Chicago; Minneapolis; Freeport, N.Y.; Sioux Falls, S.D.; Medford, Ore. and Tucson. *Contact:* PSR (202) 939-5750

23 to 9/25, Denver. The Institute for Peace and International Security will hold a conference, "Moving Beyond the Cold War," to examine new policy and strategy options for the peace movement. *Contact:* IPIS (617) 547-3338.

Ongoing

Chicago. The Peace Museum will be showing *Gimme Shelter*, a multimedia exhibition of designs for "the ultimate bomb shelter," from a satirical design competition sponsored by Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility. It runs through August. *Contact:* (312) 440-1860.

Information Hotlines: Nuclear legislation (202) 543-0006; Central America Legislation (202) 546-0664; Nicaragua (202) 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0804; nuclear tests (702) 363-7880; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

Compiled by Louise Seeley

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